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MAP OF CAMPANIA

THE CVLTS OF CAMPANIA

BY

ROY MERLE PETERSON

PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS
OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

VOLVME I

AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

1919

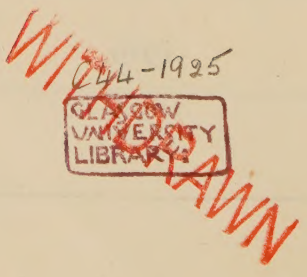
PRINTED IN ITALY

PRINTED FOR THE AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

by

ACCOM. EDITORI ALFIERI & LACROIX - ROMA

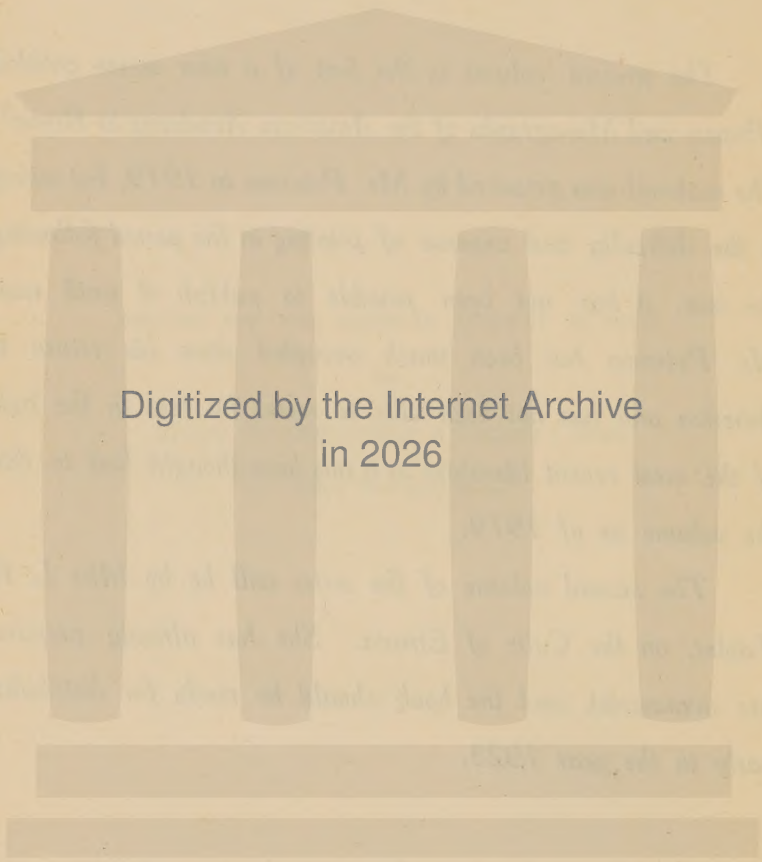
DI LUIGI ALFIERI & C.°



PREFACE.

The present volume is the first of a new series entitled "Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome". The material was prepared by Mr. Peterson in 1919, but owing to the difficulty and expense of printing in the period following the war, it has not been possible to publish it until now. Mr. Peterson has been much occupied since his return to America and has not been able to revise his text in the light of the most recent literature so it has been thought best to date the volume as of 1919.

The second volume of the series will be by Miss L. R. Taylor, on the Cults of Etruria. She has already prepared her manuscript, and the book should be ready for distribution early in the year 1923.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

To avoid unnecessary repetition, the volumes to which most frequent reference is made will be cited merely by the name of the author, as follows:

BELOCH, – *Campanien*, 2nd ed. Breslau 1890.
BUCK, – *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, Boston, 1904.
CONWAY, – *The Italic Dialects*, Vol. I, Cambridge 1897.
D.-S., – Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiq. Gr. et Rom.*
D., – Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, Berlin 1892 – 1914.
DIELS, – *Sibyllinische Blätter*, Berlin 1890.
DUBOIS, – *Pouzzoles antique (Bib. des écoles francaises d'Athènes e de Rome* XCVIII) Paris 1907.
FARNELL, – *The Cults of the Greek States* I–V, Oxford 1896–1909.
FOWLER, – *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, London 1911.
GARUCCI, – *Le monete dell' Italia antica*, Rome 1885.
GRUPPE, – *Griechische Mythologie (Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* V, 21 Munich 1906.
HELBIG, – *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens*, Leipsig 1868.
MAU, – *Pompei in Leben und Kunst*, 2nd ed. Leipsig 1908.
MAU-KELSEY, – *Pompeii, Its Life and Art*, Trans. by F. W.Kelsey, 2nd ed. New York 1902.
MEYER, – *Geschichte des Altertums* II, Stuttgart 1893.
NISSEN, – *Italische Landeskunde* II, Berlin 1902.
P.-W. – Paulys-Wissowa, – *Real-Encycl. d. klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1894--.
PRELLER-JORDAN, – *Römische Mythologie*, 3rd ed., Berlin 1881–1883.
PRELLER-ROBERT, – *Griechische Mythologie*, 4th ed., Berlin 1894.
ROSCHER, – *Lexikon d. gr. und röm. Mythologie*, Leipsig 1884--.
SAMBON (A), – *Les monnaies antiques de l' Italie*, I, Paris 1903.
VAGLIERI, – *Sylloge epigraphica orbis Romani*, Vol. II, pars I, Rome 1904.
VON PLANTA, – *Grammatik der Oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte* II, Strassburg 1897.
WISSOWA, – *Religion u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2nd ed., Munich 1912.

CHAPTER I.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION IN CAMPANIA.

Our knowledge of the religious conditions of the Roman world has made great progress within the last few decades. But treatises dealing with this topic are generally written from the standpoint of the City itself; the cults in other places are treated cursorily or relegated to allusions in the notes. In some cases the provinces have not been neglected, but little has been done systematically to bring together and examine the scattered information which we possess about the cults of the Italian cities outside of Rome (1). As a result such information is difficult to find and not seldom inaccurate because of the lack of systematic study and comparison.

Yet the life and activity of these cities were of the highest importance for the welfare of the Empire. Men born and reared here rather than at Rome were the leaders in politics and literature. Of special importance through many centuries of history was the old and populous district of Campania. As a geographical term, this was used by the ancients with considerable elasticity for the territory along the western coast of Italy between the Mediterranean Sea and the Samnite mountains. The western offshoot of this range, extending through the peninsula of Sorrento, bounded it on the south. Certain authors as Strabo, Pliny and Mela, who evidently derive their information from a common source, agree in

(1) The cults of Sicily have been more often treated. See Ciaceri, *Culti e miti nella storia dell'antica Sicilia;* Tropea, *Carte teotopiche della Sicilia antica* in *Riv. di Storia antica* VI (1902) 467 f.; Pareti, *Per una storia dei culti della Sicilia antica* in *Studi siciliani ed italioti* 227 f.

naming Sinuessa as the last city in Latium, and thus do not admit the use of the term Campania for the district north of the River Liris, which later was all included in the same region (1). As used in this treatise its meaning will be still more restricted and it will be confined to the district the northern boundary of which is the river called by the ancients Volturnus. As thus defined, Campania may easily be divided into two parts, which differ in their physical characteristics and to some extent in their respective fortunes. There is first the narrow strip of volcanic coast land depending largely upon commerce for its prosperity; separated from this section by Vesuvius, Gaurus and other mountain formations is the interior plain with interests primarily agricultural.

In comparison with the long period covered by Campanian history and the dense population of the country little material has survived to throw light upon their beliefs and observances. The writers who have made so many allusions to the shrines and deities of the capital city, are remarkably silent about those of all the dependent Italian cities, even when these were so important as Capua and Puteoli. Archaeological evidence for the different localities is very uneven. On the one hand something has been discovered of most of the temples of the relatively unimportant town of Pompeii, while the larger cities mentioned above are represented only by scattered inscriptions and the most fragmentary remains. It is then the task of the imagination to seize upon the cold and lifeless remains of Pompeian temples, people them once more with divinity, priest, and worshipper, and fill them with the incense of sacrifice and the sound of prayer, so that they may reappear somewhat as in the days of the distant past, when amid the surging life of the city round about them they formed the basis upon which the welfare of the state and the faith of the individual was founded. If this can be accomplished, we shall have before us a comprehensive picture revealing

(1) Mela II, 71; Strab. V. 2, 1; Plin. *nat.* III, 59; Hülsen, *Campania P.-W.* III, 1434; Jung, *Grundriss der Geographie von Italien* 25 f.; Beloch, *Atti dei Lincei* series III, X (1882-3) 430 and *Campanien* 1 f.; Ruggiero, *Campania* II, 42; Lanzoni, *Le origini del cristianesimo e dell'episcopato nella Campania romana* in *Riv. storico-crit. delle scienze teol.* VI (1910) 25.

many secrets of ancient life. For it must be remembered that in the past there was little definite separation either in theory or in practice between political and religious institutions; both were interwoven at the beginning and only by degrees did they separate (1).

Details of the picture are furnished by the epigraphical evidence, unsatisfactory as this is for most of the region under discussion by reason of the lack of systematic and scientific excavations. It affords many a glimpse into the intimate thoughts and life of people in all the various social conditions. Here we find the testimonies of esteem paid to the worthy municipal priest for his faithfulness as an official, and notice the pardonable pride of the aristocratic priestess who during her own lifetime raised a monument to record her honors. We witness the piety of humble dedicators who thank the gods for escape from a raging sea or for the restoration of freedom. We behold the crowds that throng the mysteries and depart with confidence in the hope of an assured immortality. In short we have before us a panorama exhibiting the emotions and the aspirations of humanity (2).

PRIMITIVE CAMPANIAN RELIGION.

The early civilization of this region was marked by the presence of divergent and, to a large extent, conflicting elements. To a primitive race of Oscan stock, which dwelt in these parts, were added contingents of Greek colonists who established themselves along the coast, and an influx of Etruscan invaders who secured the domination of the interior. In the second half of the fifth century B. C., the Samnites, descending from the mountains, became supreme at all points, and so continued till the aggressions of Rome overthrew their power. All these peoples naturally had their own religious beliefs and interests, which reacted upon and sensibly modified one another. But as a result of the paucity of notices which have reached us, little specific information is at hand

(1) Cp. Trede, *Das Heidentum in der römischen Kirche* 1, 50.
(2) See e. g. pp. 93, 106, 231, 356.

about the contribution of each element to the resulting civilization, the character of which itself is known only in a general way. So far as the various cults are concerned, it is often difficult to determine the origin of the deities worshipped, and generally impossible to obtain an exact idea of the date of their introduction. Even at Rome the beginnings of most of the forms of religion are shrouded in obscurity and their subsequent development is disputed; here, where the evidence is much less abundant, the problem is still harder and does not always admit a solution.

The divinities recognized by the primitive inhabitants were conceived in the vague and general sort of way associated with the animistic stage of religion. Though the forces and objects for which they stood can generally be inferred, these shadowy beings were separated from one another by no sharp line of demarcation either in name or in function. Thus one idea was frequently represented by several gods with different names, who when finally analyzed become in reality a single divinity. Yet as happened in the case of both the Samnites and the Latins, certain of these deities, developing a more concrete form, became actual personalities with constant characteristics, while their erstwhile companions and competitors faded away into total obscurity (1). They are probably the ones that appear in the few Oscan inscriptions which have come down to us. In other words the known deities of the pre-Roman era were probably worshipped by the old Oscan population, and were not introduced by the Samnite invaders. The latter in general seem to have been devoted to divinities similar to those of their predecessors in this region, and their invasion could not have produced much difference from a religious point of view. Traces of the old Oscan deities are widely scattered throughout this territory, appearing along the coast as well as in the interior.

Gabrici, studying the evidence of south Italian coins, believes that they indicate the veneration of certain primitive divinities generally throughout this region, one a male deity

(1) Conway, *Ancient Italy* in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* VII, 458; Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People* 116; Carter, *Religion of Numa* 5; Nissen, *Pompeianische Studien* 328.

of solar and terrestrial character, the other a goddess with lunar and chthonic attributes. The first one he considers to have been very influential in Campania and to have been expressed there especially by the well known bull with human face which is frequently seen upon Campanian coins. Since the early coins of Asiatic cities show similar types, he infers that the conceptions of divinities current in southern Italy were largely due to Oriental influence introduced by emigrants from that region. This view, however, can be regarded at present only as a suggestive hypothesis (1).

More tangible evidence exists for the worship of several deities that had exact parallels at Rome. In this category of old Italian gods Diovis, who corresponds to the Latin Jupiter, had a prominent place, and is represented on the earliest coinage of Campania and neighboring districts. To be more exact, several forms of this god originally independent one of the other were honored in this locality; among them was conspicuous a divinity represented in Latin by the term Iupiter Liber, who is mentioned in both Oscan and Latin inscriptions. Another Jupiter called Flazzus is not well understood because of the meager evidence for his existence, but he has been usually associated with the Roman Fulgurator (2). According to Servius the Oscan Jupiter was especially a god of light whose most general epithet was Lucetius; but no mention of this name has been preserved in the cities of Campania, nor has any trace appeared of the epithets Versor and Vicilinus found in other localities which were peopled by a kindred race (3).

It has generally been assumed that a goddess corresponding to Juno was honored by the old Italians and worshipped in Campania and the other Oscan territories as well as among

(1) Gabrici, *Sul valore dei tipi monetali nei problemi storici, etnografici e religiosi* in *Atti del Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche* 1903, VI, 72-73 and *Miscellanea Salinas* 126 f.

(2) See p. 396 of the Addenda.

(3) Serv. *Aen.* IX, 567. Versor occurs in a Sabellian inscription from Bruttium written in Greek, Vicilinus is cited from Compsa (Samnium). Cp. Perdrizet, *Jupiter* D.S. III, 709; Aust., *Juppiter*, Roscher II, 640.

the Umbrians (1). This view, however, has been attacked by Otto, who while recognizing the wide diffusion of the cult, insists that this was not true for the earlier period, but was due to Roman influence (2). In fact, although a few cults of Juno in Campania are attested by evidence coming from the Republican period, it is not impossible to consider them as established after the power of Rome became strong in southern Italy. To this class belong those of Nuceria, Mt. Gaurus and Celenna. Yet the evidence for denying the worship of Juno to the early period of Campania is wholly negative, and the probability of ancient cults in some places is strong, though it is clear that the worship of the goddess did not attain here the prominence which it reached in central Italy (3).

The pure Italic origin of Diana is undisputed. She was a patron of fertility in the vegetable and animal worlds, and was honored especially by women as a goddess who presides over child birth (4). Her shrine at Mt. Tifata near Capua and Casilinum was one of the oldest with which we are acquainted, though the extant inscriptions referring to it go back no farther than the first century B. C. In importance it vied with the sanctuaries at Aricia and Rome. In the interior cities such as Capua the early Italic form of Diana as well as of Jupiter and Juno continued to be very prominent during the era of the Roman Republic. It is true that they were modified to some extent by Greek influences coming from the coast, but it is not correct with Albert to speak of them as Greek gods (5).

The Latin Venus, who seems to have been a divinity originally connected with fields and gardens, was paralleled in Oscan Campania by a goddess called Herentas. South Italy in general was well supplied with Venus cults (6). In one form

(1) Roscher, *Juno* II, 576; Hild, *Juno* D.-S. III, 684; Aust, *Religion der Römer* 125.

(2) W. F. Otto, *Juno* in *Philologus* LXIV (1905) 173.

(3) Wissowa, 187, See pp. 293, 337.

(4) Birt, *Diana*, Roscher I, 1002; Wissowa, *Diana* P.-W. V, 328; Paris *Diana* D.-S. II, 154.

(5) Albert, *Le Culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie* 46.

(6) Old Venus cults in Latium are cited from Ardea, Lavinium, Alba, and Gabii. Cp. Sechan, *Venus* D.-S. V, 733, 735; Preller-Jordan, I, 435; Wissowa, 290, 291.

or another cults that seem to be old are known to have existed not only at Capua in the interior but also at Pompeii and Herculaneum on the coast. Preller believed that Venus Felix was a deity worshipped especially in Campania and as such formed the model of the celebrated Pompeian goddess, but this opinion has been refuted by Wissowa (1). The early cults, however, were afterwards modified by the introduction of the Sicilian Aphrodite from Mt. Eryx, as happened also at Rome.

The cult of Fortuna, which was widespread at an early date among various Italian peoples, was important at Oscan Capua. She was probably worshipped in this region as elsewhere as a kind of protective influence, and not unlikely was regarded as a goddess interested in motherhood (2). In the Greek settlements along the shore, however, this form of religion was introduced at a late date as a result of Roman influence.

The Oscan equivalent for Ceres occurs in inscriptions, where the word not only stands for a specific deity but also is used as an epithet for a number of poorly defined divinities. The specific goddess Ceres was later identified with the Greek Demeter and reverenced as a goddess of agriculture. As a mother goddess she resembled Fortuna; as Ceres Ultrix she was invoked in imprecation tablets to promote vengeance. A deity corresponding to the Latin Libera was probably in existence, who under Greek influence was associated with Ceres. Her Oscan name is unknown (3). The supposition of Preller, approved by Nissen, that this goddess was identical with the Venus found at Pompeii and Capua has nothing to recommend

(1) Preller-Jordan, I, 448; Nissen, *Pomp. Studien* 343; Wissowa. *De Veneris simulacris Romanis* in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* 23.

(2) Besides the well known shrines at Antium and Praeneste, temples were located on the frontier between Cales and Teanum, at Fanum Fortunae in Umbria, and probably at Beneventum. Cp. Peter, *Fortuna*, Roscher I, 1548; Otto, *Fortuna* P.-W. VII, 13; Wissowa, 258; Dieterich, *Mutter Erde* 79; Carter, *The Cognomina of the Goddess « Fortuna »* in *Trans. and Proc. of the Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXI (1900) 60.

(3) Mommsen, *Unteritalische Dialekte* 273; Buck, *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* 258; F. Lenormant, *Ceres* D.-S. I, 1078; Wissowa, *Ceres*, P.-W. III, 1974.

it (1). Likewise the Greek name Hebon, applied especially to the Dionysus of Neapolis, seems to represent some native Campanian designation for the god Liber (2). Then too various places had local divinities not recognized outside of a small radius; such were to be found in places of a peculiar character such as Lake Avernus, the Phlegraean Fields and Mt. Vesuvius, where perhaps Cacus was honored, or a god corresponding to the Roman Vediovis who was held in awe and reverence in localities subject to volcanic activity (3). While the cult of the Genius may be an old Italian observance, no evidence for it can be found before the era of Roman influence (4).

ETRUSCAN INFLUENCES.

The early religious state of the country was affected by the arrival of Greek settlers and Etruscan invaders. As proved by the evidence of graves which have been excavated, the influence of the Etruscans was second in point of time, but it may be treated first because it must be passed over briefly on account of our present ignorance of the subject (5). It was clearly less than that which emanated from the Greek colonies on the coast, as the ideas current there had already had an opportunity of being disseminated through the interior in the period that antedated the arrival of the Etruscans. Again, the prominence of the latter was of no long duration, amounting according to the Roman historians to only half a century (6). On the other hand the influence of the Etruscans must not be unduly minimized. In material things it was very important, a fact demonstrated noticeably in the case of pottery, and to a less extent, because of the lack of surviving

(1) Preller-Jordan, II, 50; Nissen, *Pomp. Studien* 328.

(2) Mommsen, *Unteritalische Dialekte* 133.

(3) Winter, *The Myth of Hercules at Rome* in *Univ. of Mich. Studies* IV, 268; Frothingham, *Vediovis the Volcanic God* in *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXXVIII (1917) 388.

(4) Meyer, II, 528.

(5) Sogliano, *Cuma Italica* in *Miscellanea Salinas* 61.

(6) Patroni, *Buccheri Campani* in *Studi e mat.* I, (1899-01) 290 f.

material, in architecture (1). Furthermore, it is known that this people profoundly affected the religion of the Roman people and it is reasonable to suppose that they left an impress similar in kind, if not in degree, upon the religious notions prevalent in Campania. Some of the features which apparently entered this region after it had been exposed to Roman influence were probably obtained directly from the Etruscans at a much earlier period. Thus the cult of the Lares, provided that it was an offshoot of the Etruscan religion, may well have been derived from them by the Campanians (2). Likewise the myth of Telephus at Capua probably came from the Etruscans rather than through the agency of the Greeks at Cumae (3). The principle of grouping three divinities together so as to form a triad has been associated with Etruria, but triads that probably existed in southern Italy before the Roman period can be explained as of Greek origin (4). On this point as on others no definite information is attainable.

Etruscan documents from Campania which have a bearing on the religious conditions of the times are confined to a single example, discovered in the necropolis of the ancient Capua. Although the sense of the whole is far from clear, there seems to be a mention of certain offerings probably made to the gods of the nether world (5). Torp considers that

(1) Pais, *Ancient Legends of Roman History* 250 and *Storia di Roma* I, part 2, 360.

(2) The derivation of the cult of the Lares from Etruria is supported among others by Lattes and most of the specialists in Etruscology, See Lattes, *Rend. del r. Ist. Lombardo* series 2, XXV (1892) 517; De Marchi, *Il culto privato di Roma antica* I, 31 (with bibliography). This view is opposed by Jordan, Preller-Jordan, I, 82 and Wissowa, *Lares*, Roscher II, 1869.

(3) See p. 358.

(4) Usener, *Dreiheit* in *Rh. Mus.* LVIII (1903) I f. Cp. Herbig, *Etruscan Religion* in Hastings *Encyclopaedia* V, 534; Carter, *Religious Life of Ancient Rome* 26; Thulin, *Rh. Mus.* LX (1905) 256 f.

(5) Bücheler, *Die campanisch-etruskische Urkunde* in *Rh. Mus.* LV. (1900) 2; Lattes, *Primi appunti sulla grande iscrizione etrusca trovata a S. Maria di Capua* in *Rend. del r. Ist. Lombardo* series 2 XXXIII (1900) 541, and *Nuovi appunti intorno alla grande iscrizione etrusca di S. Maria di Capua* in *Rend. del r. Ist. Lombardo* series 2 XL (1907) 737 f.; Torp. *Bemerkungen zu der estruskischen Inschrift von S. Maria di Capua* in *Skrifter udgivne af Videnskabs-Selskabet i Christiania* 1905 N°. 5 and *Etruskische Beiträge, Zweite Reihe* in *Skifter udgivne af Videnskabs-Selskabet i Christiania* 1906, N. 8, pp. 9, 18 f.

an enumeration of divinities appears comprising Suri, Letham, Uni, Laran (?), Thaur, Turms, and Calu. Lattes adds that the inscription commemorates the performance of funeral rites at the tomb by an unknown priest (1). It seems to be of late date, not earlier than the fourth century, - a circumstance which points to the presence of a number of Etruscans in Campania long after the Samnite conquest. It has been suggested by Pais that they lived here for religious reasons and belonged to certain families who had the hereditary duty of serving particular divinities (2). This accords with the belief that gods belonging especially to one race could not have ministers from another.

THE INTRODUCTION OF GREEK CULTS ALONG THE COAST.

As already stated the inhabitants of Campania had come in contact with Greek religious notions at an early period through the establishment of colonies along the coast. The oldest Greek divinities were gods prominent in eastern Boeotia and Euboea, who were introduced into the first settlement at Cumae. Here belong the gods of the phratries introduced at Cumae and then carried to Neapolis, who include local deities from both sides of the Euripus (3). The place of first rank was occupied by Apollo, who seems to have been associated with many phases of life and to have served as prophet, healer and patron of colonies. At Chalcis in fact colonies were regarded as tithes paid to Apollo (4). The same source was responsible for the introduction of Demeter Thesmophoros, who was worshipped at Eretria and who in Campania has left traces of her presence (5). At the same time doubtless came

(1) Torp, *op. cit.* 4; Lattes, *Atti Nap.* XXV (1908) 108. The latter reads the concluding words as an equivalent to *Veltur deus scripsit*, a formula adopted by the officiating priest, Lattes, *Rend. del r. Ist. Lombardo* XXXIII (1900) 560, 561.

(2) Pais, *Ancient Legends* 251.

(3) Busolt, I, 393.

(4) Strab. VI, 1, 6; Gruppe, 58; Roscher, *Apollo* I, 441; Wernicke, *Apollon* P.-W. II, 18, 73.

(5) Beloch, 156; Gruppe, 65 f.; Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 31.

Demeter's daughter Cora with whom she was associated in the mysteries. The cult of the Dioscuri, which was very important at Neapolis, seems to have been one of the oldest cults recognized at Cumae. It is generally assumed that it spread through Italy starting from Locri and Tarentum; in this event it must have reached the Campanian coast at an early date (1). But it may well have come with the Euboean colonists. Though its presence is not well attested in Euboea and Boeotia as early as the colonization period, it nevertheless belonged to one of the old, widely diffused cults traces of which have been found in many localities (2). Statius, therefore, may be following an authentic tradition, when he groups the Dioscuri with Apollo and Demeter and calls them *dii patrii* of his native town (3). With the two mystery goddesses mentioned above was associated Dionysus, who at least at Neapolis bore the epithet Hebon. Although there is no definite trace of the way he reached Campania, it has been inferred that he was brought from Boeotia (4). Among other deities whose worship was probably transplanted to Italy with the Chalcidian colony may be mentioned Zeus, Hera, Hermes, Artemis, and Aphrodite, who were revered generally among the Greeks in early times and were prominent in Euboea and its dependancy, eastern Boeotia (5). With Artemis came perhaps the legend of Orestes, which has left no traces at Cumae but which flourished at Aricia. It may have come to the latter from the former,

(1) Gruppe, 373; Albert, *Le culte de Castor et Pollux* 8 f.; Sambon, *Les monnaies antiques de l'Italie* I, 192.

(2) Bethe, *Dioskuren* P.-W. V. 1101; Furtwängler, *Dioskuren*, Roscher I, 1164; Foucart, *Bull. corr. hell.* IX (1885) 403.

(3) See pp. 66, 187.

(4) Gruppe, 367.

(5) Eitrem, *Hera*, P.-W. VIII, 371 and *Hermes*, P.-W. VIII, 739-40; Roscher, *Hera* I, 2080-1 and *Hermes*, I, 2350; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* I, 179, 247, 253, II, 425; Wernicke, *Artemis* P.-W. II, 1403, 1406; Gruppe, 367; cp. 210, 306. The importance of the cults of eastern Boeotia compared with those of Euboea itself is discussed by Gruppe, 365. The covers of funeral urns found in Campania often show the standing figure of a man bearing a sheep. Von Duhn identified him as Hermes Kriophoros known at Tanagra and explained his presence as due to the influence of that city exercised through Chalcis. But this theory has been more recently denied. Von Duhn, *Ann. Inst.* LI (1879) 143 f.; Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland* 212 f.; Busolt, I, 393 .

as there were rather intimate relations between them, and both formed an alliance against the Etruscans, the traditional date of which is the end of the sixth century B. C. (1).

The same people brought with them a knowledge of the Homeric traditions. Early navigators, who had made their way to the western seas, had been impressed with the wonders of nature manifested along the Campanian coast, and imagined it to be the abode of various demons. The most distinctive points of this region were now definitely identified with the adventures of Odysseus, and myths dealing with this subject were localized at different places along the shore (2). At the same time was introduced the legend of the combat between gods and giants; localized first at Phlegra in the western peninsula of the Chalcidice, it became associated later with the so-called Phlegraean Fields in Campania. As the rich lands around Nola and Capua seemed worthy enough to be desired by the gods, this name was sometimes applied to them; the scene of the actual conflict however was generally assumed to be the volcanic district about Cumae and Puteoli (3). It is also probable that the legend of Aeneas was known at an early date in the vicinity of Chalcis and that it was borne thence to the coast of Italy (4). The priority of the myth in Campania however before it was known at Rome is not entirely certain, as it may have been introduced in both localities from Sicily, where especially at Mt. Eryx the cult

(1) Dion. Hal. V, 36; Liv. II, 14; Busolt, II, 275. Pais, however, holds that the Orestes cult was derived from lower Italy (Rhegium) and Sicily (Messana) where it was connected with that of Artemis Phacelitis. Pais, *Gli elementi sannitici e campani nella più antica civiltà romana* in *Atti Nap.* XXI (1900-1) 133 = *Ricerche stor. e geog.* 427. Cp. Gruppe, 367.

(2) Ed. Meyer, II, 483; Gruppe, 369; Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel* 62; De Petra, *Parthenope Sicula* in *Miscellanea Salinas* 81; Patroni, *Intorno al mito delle Sirene* in *Riv. di fil. e d'istr. class.* XIX (1891).

(3) Diod. V, 71; Strab. V, 4, 6 (245); Eustath. on Dionys. *Perieg.* 357; Tzetzes on Lycophron 688; Ilberg, *Giganten* Roscher I, 1648. The myth of the Giants around Cumæ was explained rationally by Strabo, V, 4, 3. Preller-Robert, 75; Pais, *Stor. crit.* 237, 249.

(4) Gruppe, 369; Oberhummer, *Chalkis* P.-W. III, 2081; Pais, *Stor. crit.* I, 238-239.

of Aphrodite was very strong (1). In any case the myth of Aeneas was associated with the worship of that goddess rather than with the cult of Apollo as was maintained by O. Müller (2). It is then uncertain whether the legend of Aeneas was introduced here in a form different from that which it assumed at Rome or whether in Campania it developed certain peculiarities, which were probably reproduced in the work of the Campanian poet Naevius. Besides influencing geographical nomenclature, as in the case of Misenum and the promontory of Palinurus farther south, it became associated with Capua, whose founder Capys was asserted to be the cousin of Aeneas (3).

According to Müller's theory the cult of Apollo and the traditions centering about Aeneas came to Cumae with the colonists from Aeolic Kyme (4). The same origin has been ascribed to the Sibylline prophecies found at Cumae (5). But in addition to any other objections that might be brought against these views, there is the possibility that the Kyme cited as participating in the earliest colonization of Italy was not the well known city of Aeolia but an obscure town on the

(1) Preller-Jordan, II, 314; Pais, *Stor. crit.* I, 253 . Cp. *Busolt*, I, 395; Wörner, *Die Sage von den Wanderungen des Aeneas* 22; Cauer, *De fabulis Græcis ad Romam conditam pertenentibus* 10-11.

(2) O. Müller, *Explicantur causae fabulae de Aeneae in Italiam adventu* in *Class. Jour.* XXVI (1822) 308 f.; Hild, *La légende d'Enée avant Virgile* 34; *Aineias* P.-W. I, 1019; Wörner, *Aineias* Roscher I, 188.

(3) Pais, *Stor. crit.* I, 233 f., 250; Pfister, *Die Reliquienkult im Altertum* I, 157-8 (*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten V*); Gruppe, 690 ; Wörner, *Die Sage von den Wanderungen des Aeneas* 19, 21 = *Abhandl. zu den Programm des kgl. Gymnasiums* in *Leipsig* 1881-2; Cauer, *Die röm. Aeneassage von Naevius bis Vergilius* in *Jahrb. für class. Phil.* Supplementband XV (1887) 101; Nettleship, *The Story of Aeneas' Wanderings* in *Jour. Phil.* IX (1880) 42, 45. The myth related by Dionysius that Romus, a son of Aeneas, founded both Capua and Rome is a late invention depending upon the alliance between the two cities after 338 (or 334) B. C. Dion. Hal. I, 73; Niese, *Die Sagen von der Gründung Roms* in *Hist. Zeits.* XXIII (1888) 490; Geffcken, *Timaios' Geographie des Westens* 44.

(4) Müller, *loc. cit.*; Schwegler, *Röm. Gesch.* I, 316; Wörner, *Die Sage von den Wanderungen des Aeneas* 22.

(5) Schwegler, *Röm. Gesch.* I, 802; Gruppe. 342; Bouchè-Leclercq, *Hist. de la divin. dans l'ant.* II, 156, 184.

island of Euboea (1). Samos is also cited as the source of the Sibyl (2). In fact it is impossible to determine exactly how her cult reached Cumae, and it may have come with more than one band of colonists. In any case it goes back ultimately to Marpessus (3).

The same uncertainty is attached to the cult and myth of the Sirens, which became associated with the vicinity of Neapolis and Surrentum. According to Gruppe and Weicker they were brought by the settlers from Chalcis and formed a part of their stock of Euboean and Boeotian traditions (4). P. Friedländer, calling attention to the priority of the myth of the Sirens in Samian tradition before it appeared in the Odyssey, believes that their presence in Campania was due to Samian colonists, who are credited in history with the foundation of a settlement at Puteoli (5). No evidence has been preserved for the arrival of Samians at Neapolis, but Friedländer regards the statement of a scholiast as pointing in that direction (6). A better indication for believing that the cult of the Sirens was due to a non-Chalcidian element is the attitude shown toward them by the people of Cumae; not only did the latter not carry on the worship of these creatures, but they are actually reported to have been hostile to Parthenope, the special patroness of the Neapolitans.

The most important element after that of the Chalcidians was the one derived from Rhodes, which established a colony Parthenope on or near the site of the later Neapolis. The Rhodians were familiar with the gods generally recognized by the Greeks and in addition probably introduced into Campania the worship of Heracles. The origin of this cult is disputed. The opinion once held that he was especially a Dorian god

(1) Beloch, 147; Busolt, 391 f.

(2) Schwegler, *Röm. Gesch.* I, 802.

(3) Buchholz, *Sibylla*, Roscher IV, 795, 799; Schultess, *Die Sibyllinischen Bücher in Rom* 8 f.

(4) Gruppe, 344 and *Jahresb. über die Fortschr. der class. Altertumsw.* CXXXVII 356; Weicker, *Seirenen*, Roscher IV, 607 and *Der Seelenvogel* 60.

(5) P. Friedländer, *Herakles* 85 f.

(6) Scholiast on Dionys. *Perig.* 358 (Müller, *Geog. Gr. min.* II, 445): Friedländer, *Herakles* 90.

coming from the Peloponnesus to Cumae, as stated for example by Reitzenstein, is not tenable (1). Many scholars have considered him as a primitive Boeotian deity or at least one who was prominent there at an early date. In this event his cult would have spread first to Euboea and from there would have reached Italy at Cumae (2). But Friedländer has shown that the primitive Heracles cult was at Rhodes, and was introduced into Boeotia from the Rhodian epics as late as 700 B. C. In Campania therefore it must have been due to the Rhodians either by direct colonization or indirectly from their settlement at Croton (3). The recognition of the god soon spread along the coast, as he appears associated with the myths of the Giants and the cattle of Geryon which were localized in the neighborhood of Cumae. He was further worshipped at the numerous warm springs around Puteoli as at Himera (4).

Other elements joined the earliest colonists from time to time bringing with them certain religious ideas from their old homes. Thus refugees from Psophis in Arcadia perhaps reached Cumae bringing their traditions about the Erymanthean boar with the result that in time Apollo's temple was supposed to preserve its very remains in the form of a sacred relic, and the boar's tusks were portrayed on Cumaean coins (5). On the basis of a notice in Pausanias it has also been thought that a band from Tritaea in Achaia settled here and introduced the god Ares with the legend of Romulus (6).

(1) Reitzenstein, *Ined. poet. Gr. frag.* 11.

(2) Von Wilamowitz, *Der Herakles Sage in Eurip. Herakl.* I, 1, 12; Meyer, II 255, 485-6; Beloch I, 163 and *Die dorische Wanderung* in *Rh. Mus.* XLV (1890) 579; Correra, *Riv. ital. di numis.* XVI (1903) 191; Winter, *The Myth of Hercules at Rome* 266.

(3) Friedländer, *Herakles* 54 f.; Gruppe, 374; Pöhlmann, *Grundriss der gr. Gesch.* 49.

(4) Serv. *Aen.* VII, 662; Friedländer, *Herakles* 22, 142; Gruppe 454 and *Berl. Phil. Wochens.* XXXI (1911) 1002; R. Peter, *Hercules,* Roscher I, 3009; Preller-Jordan, II, 280.

(5) Gruppe, 371; Garrucci. *Le monete dell'It. ant.* Pl. 83, No. 29; A. Sambon, *Les monn. ant. de l'It.* 151. No. 246: Pais. *Stor. crit.* I. 228.

(6) Reitzenstein, *Ined poet Gr. frag.* 11, 24; Gruppe, 141; Paus, VII, 22, 9.

But the worship of Ares - if it really was carried on at Cumae - might well have come from Euboea. Reitzenstein saw another evidence for the presence of an Achaean element in the use of the word Ἀχαιστί as opposed to the expression ἐν πατρίοισι νόμοις found in an oracle of Phlegon of Tralles. He maintained that the rites of the new comers were thus distinguished from those of the original Euboean settlers, but the reference is not surely to Cumae (1). Pais, while admitting the presence of these Achaean and Arcadian elements in the religion of Cumae, believes that they came from Syracuse after the battle of Cumae in 474 B. C. (2).

The cult of Athena was introduced generally in lower Italy as a result of Achaean and Aetolian influence, but in Campania seems to have been brought directly from Athens by a number of colonists from that city who took up their abode at Neapolis in the fifth century (3). Before this time there were few relations between Athens and Campania, and wares from the former were imported into the latter through the mediation of the merchants of Syracuse (4). Now Athenian influence made itself felt more strongly, and a new type of money was issued which bears the likeness of the great deity of that city. Pottery found at Cumae shows so great a resemblance to the Athenian product, that it has been supposed to be the work of artisans from Athens who were residing in Campania (5). The new movement must have had much importance in a religious way, but little evidence for it has been preserved. The influence of Athens was not always exercised directly but also through the agency of Thurii (6).

(1) Reitzenstein, *op. cit.* 10; Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter* 54 f.; Schultess, *Die Sibyllinische Bücher in Rom* 24. For the oracle see Diels *op. cit.* 111 f.

(2) Pais, *Storia della Sicilia e della Magna Graecia* I, 163.

(3) Dümmler, *Athena* P. W. II, 1984; Rückert, *Dienst der Athena* 84 f. (not accessible to me); Beloch, 30; Pais, *Ricerche stor. e geogr.* 441.

(4) Helbig, *Sopra le relazioni commerciali degli Ateniesi coll'Italia* in *Rend. dei Lincei* V (1889) 79.

(5) Vanacore, *I vasi con heroon dell'Italia meridionale* in *Atti Nap.* XXIV (1906) 189.

(6) A. Sambon, *La cronologia delle monete di Neapolis* in *Riv. ital. di num.* XV (1902) 119 f.

In fact the various cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily exercised an important influence on the development of religion in Campania. Between the ports of the latter and those of Sicily an extensive commerce was carried on through the sixth and the first part of the fifth centuries B. C. (1). In the latter part of the fifth century Cumae was an ally of Syracuse, and King Hiero obtained possession of the island of Pithecussae (Ischia). Syracusan influence was at its height, and at this time may have originated the legends of the Cretans and the Thespiads, who are supposed to have come respectively from Sardinia and Sicily (2). Through the same instrumentality was made known the cult of the Sicilian Athena, which flourished along side of that derived from Athens (3). From the western end of the island came the worship of the ship-protecting Aphrodite of Mt. Eryx, who was identified with the pre-existing Oscan deity Herentas (4).

Among the cities of lower Italy, which promoted the spread of various forms of religion to the north may be mentioned Tarentum, which was zealous in the worship of Heracles, and Locri which magnified the Dioscuri, although these cults had already been introduced along the coast of Campania by early settlers (5). Gruppe has plausibly explained the presence of the Geryon myth here as due to the Rhodians at Croton. Although admitting the colonization of Parthenope by men of the same nationality he believes that this legend of Heracles' exploits was carried to that city first from Croton, and later formed a part of the heritage of the inhabitants of Cumae, which they received at the capture of Parthenope (6). An acquaintance with Achelous as father of the Sirens was naturally made when the legends of those goddesses came to Campania, but his presence upon coins more likely resulted

(1) Helbig, *Rend. dei Lincei* V (1899).

(2) Pais, *Storia della Sic.* I, 163 .

(3) See p. 197.

(4) Meyer, II, 531.

(5) Gruppe, 372-373; Wissowa, 269.

(6) Gruppe, *Berl. Phil. Wochens.* XXXI (1911) 1002. Cp. Vollgraff, *Rhodos oder Argos?* in *Neue Jahrbücher* XXV (1910) 317.

from the influence of Metapontum (1). So the appearance of the Argive Juno upon the money of the early Campanian city of Hyria was due according to Pais to the influence of Posidonia (2). The cult of Leucothea has been derived from Elea (Velia) (3).

THE SPREAD OF GREEK CULTS INTO THE INTERIOR.

The gods introduced by the Greek settlers along the coast did not remain confined to that area but became known also in the interior. In this movement the influence of Cumae was the most important on account of its commercial relations and colonies (4). Its settlements at Neapolis and Puteoli flourished and the former became in later years the greatest center of Hellenic civilization in Italy. Other places farther south such as Pompeii and Surrentum appear to have received Greek settlers and were noticeably affected by Greek influence, since both at an early date possessed Greek temples. Cumae furthermore strengthened Hellenic influence throughout Campania by its alliance with the powerful city of Syracuse, by whose assistance it was enabled to withstand and defeat the Etruscans (5). The religion of the Greeks was one of the factors which availed most to save them from being submerged by the surrounding tribes, and in order to strengthen their position they may designedly have endeavored to extend the circle wherein the gods of Greece were recognized (6). This

(1) Gruppe, 343.

(2) Pais, *Gli elementi italioti, sannitici e campani nella più antica civiltà romana* in *Atti Nap.* XXI (1900-01) part. I, 132. *Ricerche stor. e geog.* 462; Head, *Hist. num.* 32.

(3) Correra, *Studi e mater. di arch. e di numis.* I (1899) 74; Gruppe, 376.

(4) Meyer, II, 531.

(5) Freeman, *Hist. of Sic.* II, 252.

(6) Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde* II, 723; Reitzenstein *Ined. poet. Gr. frag.*, 10. For the relations that existed in general between the Greek colonists and the natives with whom they came in contact see Gwynn, *The Character of Gr. Colonization* in *Jour. Hell. Stud.* XXXVIII (1918) 109 f.

result was achieved by means of festivals. Thus at Hamae near Cumae a solemn festival was celebrated from early times in the interest of the Campanians, an occasion on which the inhabitants of the interior were brought into touch with Hellenic beliefs.

As the Oscan cities became familiar with the Greek deities, they either adopted them as new gods or merged them with others of similar nature already existent. Thus Oscan inscriptions from Pompeii and Herculaneum, which exhibit the forms Apellu, Hercolus, Herentas, and Fluusa, attest the worship of Apollo, Hercules, Venus, and Flora (1). Artemis is an example of the divinities who were merged with old Italic gods; Heracles and the Dioscuri on the contrary were probably never assimilated to preexisting Oscan divinities, but none the less soon had temples with thriving cults in the interior. Castor and Pollux became the patrons of the Campanian aristocracy, and Heracles or Hercules was revered everywhere and roads were commonly called by his name (2). The myth of Cacus, associated in legend with the latter deity perhaps had its counterpart in this region; Aeneas was made known in the interior (3).

Demeter, Cora and Dionysus, identified with native deities, attained a position of preeminence. Though the date of their introduction into the interior is uncertain, they were certainly well known there in the sixth century. They were connected with agriculture and naturally became widely popular over the rich Campanian plain. As a result of its bounteous crops of grain and the abundant yield of the vine, both Demeter and Dionysus seemed to vie with each other in showering their blessings upon it, and so the legend arose that it had been the object of contention between the two for its possession (4). Another myth represents the *Ager Falernus*

(1) Conway, *Italian Religion* in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia* VII, 458.

(2) Liv. VIII, 11, 16; Preller-Jordan, II, 301; Pseudo-Aristotle, *De mirab. ausc.* 97. The latter writer speaks particularly of southern Italy, but makes his remarks of general application for the peninsula. Pais, *Stor. Rom.* I, 2, 442-3: Cesano, *Hercules*, Ruggiero III, 710; Boehm, *Hercules* P.-W. VIII, 608.

(3) Pais, *Stor. crit.* I, 238-239.

(4) Plin. *nat.* III, 60; Preller-Jordan, II, 47.

just north of the Volturnus as the land upon which Liber first conferred the gift of wine (1).

The worship of Dionysus was carried on especially in the mysteries, about which little is known save their orgiastic nature and their tendency to be marked by excesses (2). For the cities of Campania itself no information has reached us about their character. In the luxurious cities of Magna Graecia their environment was especially favorable for licentiousness. In the former district too much emotion in religion was perhaps repugnant to the disposition of the better class of Greeks, at least in the earlier period (3). In these ceremonies Ceres seems to have had little part according to the evidence of vase paintings; yet she probably had a larger share in the mysteries of this coast, whence the Romans derived their worship of Ceres, Liber and Libera, than on the other side of the peninsula, where Dionysus was supreme (4). Occasionally Ceres is represented along with Dionysus, as on a two handled hydria from the vicinity of the ancient Capua where Cora appears with them in a scene portraying the bliss of Elysium (5). The companion of Dionysus is more often a goddess who is depicted in the form of Ariadne. To explain this figure F. Lenormant supposed a union of the attributes of both Demeter and Cora in the person of a single goddess, who in actual cult and ritual was regarded as the deity to whom reference has already been made as Libera, but who in popular belief was fused with Ariadne (6). This combination would be fostered by the circumstance that the latter was considered a goddess of wine, and the conception of Ariadne as a companion of Bacchus was so powerful that the Roman Libera was taken for Ariadne by Ovid (7). Dionysus himself was

(1) Sil. VII, 162 f.

(2) Comparetti, *Iscrizione arcaica cumana* in *Ausonia* I (1906) 17 f.

(3) Spinelli, *La decadenza religiosa e la repressione dei Baccanali a Roma*, 34.

(4) Spinelli, *op. cit.* 29.

(5) Fröhner, *La collection Tyszkiewiez* Pl. c. 10.

(6) F. Lenormant, *Bacchus* D.-S. I, 637 and *La Grande-Grèce* I, 407; Preller-Robert, 683; Thrämer, *Dionysus in der Kunst* Roscher I, 1148.

(7) Ov. *fast.* III, 512, *Metam.* VIII, 170; Prop. II, 3, 18; III, 17, 8; Hor. *Carm.* II, 19, 16; Stoll. *Ariadne*, Roscher I, 544; Wagner, *Ariadne* P.-W. II, 808.

regarded as the Liberator (Ἐλευθερεύς) and viewed as a god of the dead. A parallelism was seen between the action of wine and death both of which release the soul from the restraints of the flesh; the feeling further prevailed that the god could save his devotees from the perils and miseries of the lower world (1). His popularity is proved by the frequency with which he appears in vase paintings from the factories of Campania and the adjoining districts. He is a common subject not only upon the vases coming from Posidonia but also upon those from Saticula (S. Agatha de' Goti), where a notable factory was located in the fifth and fourth centuries (2). Although the vases are based on Attic models, they would have been lacking in point, if they did not allude to popular legends and religious rites. In this case the comprehensive character of the cult, the many phases of life with which the god was associated, and his significance in the mysteries as a chthonic deity are all circumstances that made the subject appropriate. Likewise the myths connected with Dionysus, especially those in which Ariadne appears, were adopted more often than any other theme for Campanian wall-paintings (3).

The mystical element pervading the cult of Dionysus was paralleled in the Orphic mysteries, which had attained a full development in lower Italy in the sixth century. These doctrines unquestionably influenced Campania to a considerable extent, though no certain evidence for their presence in any particular city remains (4). We may be sure that the wandering Orphic teachers censured by Plato did not neglect this

(1) Gruppe, 1430 f.

(2) Walters, *Hist. Anc. Pot.* II, 484; Patroni, *La ceramica ant. nell'It. merid.* in *Atti Nap.* XIX (1897-8) 96; Patroni's conclusions have been challenged in general by Macchioro, *Intorno al contenuto oltremondano della ceramografia italiota* in *Neapolis* I (1913) 30 f.

(3) Stoll, Roscher I, 545; Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji* 588-589; Mau, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst* 495; Helbig, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* 93, No. 368 f.

(4) Gruppe, *Orpheus* Roscher III, 1101; Vanacore, *I vasi con heroon* in *Atti Nap.* XXIV (1906) 180; J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* 598; Comparetti; *Petelia Gold Tablet* in *Jour. Hell. Stud.* III, 111 f. and *Ausonia* I (1906) 18-20; Kern, *Orphischer Totenkult* in *Aus der Anomia arch. Beiträge C. Robert dargebracht* 86 f. Cp. p. 70.

rich and prosperous territory, but went about here as elsewhere expounding to interested throngs their hopes for a future life (1). Related to the Orphic doctrines and liable to be confused with them were the teachings of Pythagoras emanating from Croton, the amount of whose influence in Campania we are not in a position to estimate. The one fact that is gleaned from the various mysteries - Bacchic, Orphic, and Pythagorean - is that the life beyond the grave occupied a large place in the thought of southern Italy; the end was the same whether there prevailed a belief in the transmigration of souls or in the existence of a blessed Elysium (2). The evidence appears in vase paintings (3).

THE INFLUENCE OF CAMPANIA UPON THE RELIGION OF ROME.

As the commercial and political relations of Campania with the Greeks of Sicily and lower Italy were responsible for the introduction within its borders of new forms of religion, so in the same way Campania helped to modify the religious conceptions of the peoples situated farther north. In fact from an early date the coast cities of Campania carried on a flourishing trade with the Etruscans and the Latins with the result that Greek gods were made known within their borders (4). Among the deities first introduced was Heracles, whose cult was disseminated largely through the instrumentality of Cumae (5). Etruscan works of art, representing the god or depicting his myths, show his presence in that country as early as the sixth century B. C., and it has been suspected that his popularity there had an important effect in making him known

(1) Plat. *Rep.* II, 364B. Cp. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* 643 f.; Spinelli, *La decadenza relig. e la repres. dei Baccanali a Roma* 29.

(2) Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* 198.

(3) Vanacore, *Atti Nap.* XXIV (1906) 180.

(4) For the commercial importance of Cumæ see Gabrici, *Cuma* in *Mon. ant.* XXII (1913) 577 f.

(5) Cesano, *Hercules*, Ruggiero III, 684 with comprehensive references to earlier literature; Pais, *Stor. crit.* I, part. I, 361.

to the Romans (1). The cult at Rome seems to have been due mainly to Campanian influence, although Pais in his later work admits the possibility of influences from Sicily and Magna Graecia (2). The god indeed may have come directly from Cumae to Rome, since important relations existed between the two cities in early times, and certain circumstances have been found to support this contention (3). But it is more probable, as Wissowa has indicated, that he was worshipped first at Tibur and that from this locality he was taken to Rome; as a result he was not considered a foreign deity by the Romans in spite of his Greek ritual (4).

Yet Campanian influences doubtless operated directly, at least at a later epoch. In the time of Appius Claudius Caecus, as a result of the construction of the *Via Appia* and the intimate relations of Rome with the Campanians and Samnites, Hercules came more prominently before the Romans, and his cult was made a public one (5). This event marks a new epoch in the religious relations between Campania and Rome, for earlier intercourse was mainly by sea, but in the later period Capua rather than Cumae affected the Romans (6). Pais has expressed the opinion that Campanian influence coming overland is indicated by the location of the principal seat of the Hercules cult at Rome, but this was not situated, as he states, where the great highway leading to Campania issued from the city (7). Rather its position near the Tiber

(1) Dürrbach, *Hercules* D.-S. III, 124-25; Winter, *The Myth of Herc. at Rome* 269.

(2) Pais, *Stor. crit.* I, part. I, 229.

(3) Cesano, Ruggiero III, 684; Reitzenstein, *Ined. poem. Gr. frag.* 24; Preller-Jordan II, 280.

(4) Wissowa, 272; Carter, *Relig. of Numa* 32; Fowler, 230.

(5) Liv. IX, 29, 9; Val. Max. I, 1, 17; Macr. III, 6, 12; Interpolator to Serv. *Aen.* VIII, 269; Fest, 237; Aur. Vict. *De uiris illus.* 34; *Origo gentis Romanae* 8; Pais, *Stor. Rom.* I, part 2, 439, 560 and *Atti Nap.* XXI (1900-1) I, 134.

(6) See, however, p. 28.

(7) The statements of Pais about the cult of Hercules are confused and contradictory. He says in one place (*Atti Nap.* XXI (1900-1) 134) that the memorials of the god fittingly stood near the *Porta Trigemina,* where the way to Capua began, and in another place (*Stor. crit.* I, part 1, 229) declares that the principal seat of his cult was not by accident near the *Porta Capena,* where the Campanian way began. As a matter of fact the god was not associated with the last named gate, nor did the one named first belong to a road leading to Campania.

and the landing place signified that it had arrived in the first instance by water (1). It was established before the overland traffic between Rome and the South began, as is recognized by Pais in another place (2).

The story of Cacus, who was associated with the exploits of Hercules at Rome, was probably based upon a Campanian myth dealing with the punishment of a cattle theft, inflicted by the great hero. An evidence for this assumption is the statement of the annalist Gellius that Cacus came to Rome from Campania (3).

Still more evident is the Campanian origin for the worship of Apollo at Rome; in this case the god did not arrive in the guise of an Italian divinity but was introduced directly from Cumae as a god of healing probably as a result of the influence of the so-called Sybilline oracles, which tradition ascribes to that city (4). These according to legend reached Rome at the end of the period of the Kings or at the beginning of the Republic (5). As a matter of fact the oracles may not have come from Cumae at all, but rather were pious frauds to which a Cumaean origin was assigned. In specific cases there had doubtless been a consultation of the Sibyl

(1) Fowler, 230.

(2) Pais, *Stor. crit.* I, part I, 230. His statement elsewhere *Atti Nap.* XXI (1900-1) 135 = *Ricerche stor. e geogr.* 428 that the cult of Hercules arrived at Rome after that of Ceres, when Greek civilisation was openly welcomed, must be regarded as erroneous.

(3) Gell. *hist.* I, 7 = Peter, *Hist. Rom.* frag. 7* p. 93. The bronze urn found at S. Maria di Capua perhaps contains an expression of the Cacus myth but this interpretation is disputed. Peter, *Hercules* Roscher I, 2275; Wissowa *Cacus* P.-W. III, 1169; Preller-Jordan; I, 18; Winter, *The Myth of Herc. at Rome* 267 (with references to earlier literature). The view that the Cacus myth was an old Italian one is less probable. Peter 2278. For the myth in general see Gruppe, *Berl. Phil. Wochens,* XXXI (1911) 999 f.; Münzer, *Cacus der Kinderdieb.*

(4) Wernicke, *Apollo* P.-W. II, 78; Ruggiero, *Apollo* I, 518; Preller-Jordan, I, 18, 146 f.; Wissowa, 293; Fowler, 268; Carter, *Relig. of Numa,* 66; Roscher, *Apollo* I, 446; Pais, *Stor. Rom.* I, part 1, 349 and *Stor. crit.* I, part 2, 528; Haight, *An inspired message in the Augustan Poets* in *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXXIX (1918) 341 f.

(5) Hoffmann, *Die tarquinischen Sibylline-Bücher* in *Rh. Mus.* L. (1895) 108; Wörner, *Die Sage von den Wanderungen des Aeneas* 22; Schultess, *Die Sibyllinischen Bücher in Rom* 10.

there, and to meet future needs a collection of remedies for averting evil omens was prepared. Such an origin would account for the presence of the oracles within the *pomerium* (1). Otherwise one must assume either that the oracles and the god were not closely associated, as is generally supposed by those who follow the common tradition, or else that neither oracles nor cult entered Rome before the founding of the Apollo temple in the fourth century B. C. (2). While such a late date is improbable, it is equally incorrect to suppose that the worship of Apollo was maintained at Rome before the presence of the Sibylline oracles (3); rather it arrived soon after they came into existence and was largely due to them. A circumstance indicating the belief of the Romans themselves that their god came from Cumae was the performance of expiatory rites in the Apollo temple of that city on the occasion of prodigies, and there can be little doubt that their attitude here was correct. To include Cumae, therefore, as one of the localities to which the cult spread from Rome, as is done by Pascal, is an unfortunate reversal of the relations actually existing between the two cities (4).

As a result of Sibylline influence, the cult of Demeter, Cora and Dionysus is said to have reached Rome in the year 493 B. C. This form of worship in which Ceres, representing Demeter, had the leading place was adopted as an official cult by the state, but although the divinities were designated by Latin names formerly borne by old Italian deities, they were considered as foreign gods and their rites were Greek (5). But the mysteries celebrated in their honor by the Greeks and all features of the worship tending toward orgiastic excesses

(1) Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter* 80; Fowler, 259; De Sanctis, *Stor.* II, 526-7; Pais, *Stor. crit.* I, 249 .

(2) Hoffmann, *Rh. Mus.* L (1895) 96; Pais, *Stor. crit.* I, 528, II, 537.

(3) De Sanctis, *loc. cit.*

(4) Pascal, *Il più antico tempio d'Apollo a Roma* in *Bull. arch. com.* 1893, 48. The author may not have intended to make this statement but such seems to be the purport of his words.

(5) Dion. Hal. VI, 17; VI, 94, 3. Cp. Liv. III, 55,7; Tac. *Ann.* II, 49; Spinelli, *La decadenza religiosa e la repressione dei Baccanali a Roma*, 25; Toutain, *Liber Pater* in *Etudes de mythologie et d'histoire* 222. Hoffmann, *Rh. Mus.* L (1895) 100 denies that the divinities treated here were Greek.

were doubtless debarred at this time (1). Their origin must be sought in connection with the importation of grain from Sicily and Campania to relieve a condition of famine. Since both places had strong Ceres cults, it is probable that both were effective in the propagation of the worship of the goddess at Rome, but which one took the leading part in this movement is a question in dispute. Pais, following Preller, has attempted to prove that the worship of Ceres along with the legend of Menenius Agrippa and the traditions of the revolt of the plebs is due to Sicilian influences centering at Syracuse (2). It is indeed certain that the Sicilian Enna was held to be the oldest seat of Demeter worship, and for that reason the Romans in 133 B. C. sent a delegation thither to perform state sacrifices (3). We may account for this fact by supposing that during the lapse of time the Romans had forgotten the chief source from which their cult was derived. In any event the mention of Enna does not exclude a Campanian source for the Roman goddess; for if the cult came from the island, it must have come from Syracuse or some seaport and not from the interior (4). On the other hand the proximity of Campania to Rome, the connection of the Sibylline oracles with Cumae, the known derivation of other cults from this region, all tend to show a probability that the district around Cumae was the source. This view is confirmed by the fact that priestesses at Rome were selected from the neighboring Velia and Neapolis, after Cumae had declined in population and power (5). The statement of Birt that the Ceres cult in Campania was due to the extension of Roman influence is altogether unfounded, since it conceives the relations be-

(1) Spinelli, loc. cit.

(2) Preller-Jordan, II, 40; Fowler, 256; Pestalozza e Chiesa, *Ceres*, Ruggiero, II, 206; Pais, *Ancient Italy* 245 f., *Ricerche stor. e geog.* 320, and *Stor. crit.* II, 146.

(3) Cic. *Verr.* LV, 108; Val. I, 1, 1.

(4) The Romans were not agreed as to the origin of their cult, as appears from the attempt of Dionysius to trace it to Arcadia. Dion. Hal., I, 33. Cp. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States III*, 101.

(5) Farnell, III, 101; Wissowa, *Ceres* P.-W. III, 1974 and *Rel. und Kult.* 297; F. Lenormant, *Ceres* D.-S. I, 1078; Carter, *Religion of Numa* 72 f.; Aust, *Religion der Römer* 150; De Sanctis, *Stor. Rom.* II,527; Dubois *Pouzzoles antique* 134 and *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 27.

tween Rome and Campania as the reverse of the actual ones (1). The date of the introduction of the triad is unknown, unless the legendary one be accepted (2).

Similar was the origin of the Roman cult of Mercury, which came to Rome according to tradition two years earlier than that of Ceres. Although no details are at hand, the Romans probably felt the need of another god to serve as patron of their developing commerce; Hermes Empolaios therefore was imported from the Greek cities in the South to fill this need. It is probable but not certain that the introduction was due to Sibylline influence and that the god was brought from the vicinity of Cumae (3).

From the same coast the worship of Castor and Pollux as sea divinities spread northward toward Latium; according to Albert it was hospitably received at all the port towns and at Caere in particular, but it has left clear traces of its presence only at Ostia (4). These gods as patrons of the knights had already found favor at Rome, and were associated in legend with the battle of Lake Regillus. This aspect of the cult originated in southern Italy especially at Locri and Tarentum; thence it passed through Tusculum to Rome. Probably it spread overland toward the north with Capua, Cora and other points as intermediate stages before it arrived at Tusculum (5). More evident is the part played by Campania in introducing these gods at Ostia as marine deities. Miss Taylor limits the evidence for their presence in Italian ports

(1) Birt, *Ceres*, Roscher 863. His view here depends on the theory of the introduction of the cult at Rome on the analogy of the triad of Demeter, Dionysus aud Cora at Lampsacus, Cp. Roscher 862; Marquardt-Wissowa *Röm. Staatsverwaltung* III, 362; Pais, *Ancient Italy* 250 and *Ricerche stor. e geog.* 326.

(2) Pais, *Ancient Italy* 256 and *Ricerche stor. e geog.* 329.

(3) Carter, *Rel. of Numa* 77; Preller-Jordan, I, 230; Scherer, *Hermes in der Kunst*, Roscher, I, 2425. Cp. Wissowa, 51, 304; Pais, *Stor. Crit.* II, 536; *Fowler*, 260.

(4) Albert, *Le culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie* 58; Taylor, *The cults of Ostia* 24 f.

(5) Preller-Jordan, II, 300 f.; Wissowa, 268; Carter, *Rel. of Numa* 37 f.; Furtwängler, *Dioskuren*, Roscher I, 1168; Bethe, *Dioskuren* P.-W. V. 1104; Albert, *op. cit.* 8 f. and *Dioscuri* D.-S. II, 260; Helbig, *Die Castores als Schutzgötter des röm. Equitatus* in *Hermes* XL (1905) 104 f.

to statues at Puteoli and Ancona and a temple at Ostia (1). But they had a temple certainly at Neapolis and almost certainly at Cumae; they were worshipped in fact at Cumae and its two colonies in Campania and were doubtless introduced from there to Ostia.

Another divinity at Rome for whom a Campanian origin has been suggested is Victoria. Graillot thinks that her introduction was caused by Greek influence from this quarter at the opening of the third century B. C. (2).

In the case of other deities for whom a Campanian origin has been found the probabilities are strongly against such an assumption. Thus Poseidon, who was thought by Preller to have come to Rome from Cumae, came rather from Tarentum (3); and Vesta, whose origin Kretschmer derived from the cult of Hestia, supposedly flourishing among the Greek colonies in Italy, was a goddess of Latin origin (4). In fact the Samnite conquest in the fifth century caused a diminution in the activity of the Greek cities of the Campanian coast (5). The influence of this district however, soon made itself felt in another way. As the territory of Rome increased by conquest toward the south and Capua came under Roman protection in the fourth century B. C. a new stream of influences propagating the civilization of Campania made its way northward. Capua now took the lead in affecting the civilization of Rome, a position formerly held by Cumae (6). This influence is seen especially in the early Roman money minted in bronze about 340 B. C. Here the six gods chosen to serve as effigies were either Greek gods whose cult had been introduced from the South or were Greek divinities who were now identified with Roman ones (7).

(1) Taylor, *The Cults of Ostia* 25-26.

(2) Graillot, *Victoria* D.-S. V, 837.

(3) Preller-Jordan, I, 18. Cp. Wissowa, 226; Carter, *Rel. of Numa*, 79.

(4) Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griech. Sprache* 162; De Sanctis, *Stor. Rom.* II, 524. Cp. Wissowa, 157; Hild, *Vesta* D.-S. V. 746; Gruppe, I, 84; Jordan, *Der Tempel der Vesta und das Haus der Vestallinen* 75.

(5) Pais, *Storia crit.* I, 253.

(6) Willers, *Gesch. d. röm. Kupferprägung* 34; Nissen, *Orientation* 333.

(7) Willers, *op. cit.* 28; cp. 33; Wissowa, 56.

CAMPANIA DURING THE LATER REPUBLIC.

The Second Punic War by the definite establishment of Roman supremacy marks an epoch in the history of Campanian and south Italian religion. Even before that event Roman influence through the establishment of alliances and protectorates had been making itself strongly felt. Just as in the sixth and fifth centuries the forms of religion flourishing in the South had materially modified the established worships of Rome, so now on the other hand the favored cults of that city tended to make their way in Campania, fostered by the pro-Roman party which existed in the different communities (1). At the close of the great struggle Roman religious ideas were definitely planted in all parts by the foundation of Roman colonies, and although in a few places like Neapolis Greek civilization lingered, and at Capua the hatred of the original inhabitants and the pride of the Roman colonists there settled tended to maintain a certain independence of Rome, for the most part the Campanian towns became miniature copies of the capital city (2). Yet the survival of old native cults was encouraged and to such forms of religion, officially recognized by the Roman state, was given the special appellation of *municipalia sacra* (3).

Still the influence of Campania and lower Italy in general had not ceased to affect the Roman state. Back in the dark days which followed Hannibal's invasion, Rome seems once more to have had recourse to the Campanian territory for the acquisition of a new cult. This was the worship of Bona Mens, attested for several localities by sporadic inscriptions and particularly prominent near the southern boundary of Campania at Posidonia (Paestum) (4). Graillot thinks that Rome's action here was due to a desire to please and conciliate her southern allies, whose loyalty could no longer be considered

(1) The sympathizers with Rome at the time of the Hannibalic War seem to have been the commons rather than the aristocracy. Reid, *Problems of the Second Punic War* in *Jour. Rom. Stud.* V. (1915) 112.

(2) See p. 330, 364.

(3) Festus, 157; Wissowa, 44.

(4) Wissowa, 314; Preller-Jordan, II, 265; R. Peter, *Mens*, Roscher II, 2799.

as assured (1). Preller believed that the cult of Volturnus at Rome was a form of worship honoring the Campanian river of that name, and that it had been carried to Rome after the subjugation of Capua at the close of the Hannibalic War (2). But this opinion is untenable, as the cult of Rome was under the charge of a flamen, and therefore very old. The latter was rather a cult of the Tiber itself designated under a generic name (3).

At the close of the war Campanian influence began to operate in the case of the orgiastic and mystical cults, which in contrast to those introduced in the past did not enter Rome to become immediately a part of the state religion, but were introduced primarily without the sanction of the governing powers. To this class belong especially the Bacchic mysteries, which caused so much alarm to the Roman state in the first part of the second century B. C. From Campania came the priestess Annia Paculla, who by the innovation of receiving men into the Bacchic associations at Rome, and holding frequent night meetings was largely responsible for the ensuing scandals, which disturbed Roman society from its foundations (4). From this state of affairs we may infer that in Campania too the worship of Bacchus had degenerated and was marked by unseemly conduct on the part of his devotees. As a result of the agitation in Rome, measures were taken in the year 186 B. C. to stamp out the mysteries throughout Italy. But they were hard to eradicate in the South; two notices preserved from Calabria and Apulia and dated respectively in 184 and 182 B. C. demonstrate that the repressive measures were still meeting opposition (5). Conditions in

(1) Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* 56.

(2) Preller-Jordan, II, 142-43. Cp. Varro, VI, 21, VII 45; Fest. 279.

(3) Mommsen, *C. I. L.* I, p. 327; *Wissowa*, 224-225; Fowler, *The Roman Festivals* 214; Preller--Jordan, II, 143; Waser, *Flussgötter* P.-W. VI, 2779-80.

(4) Liv. XXXIX, 8-19; Val. Max. VI, 3, 7; Cic. *leg.* II, 37; F. Lenormant, *La Grande-Grèce* I, 420 and *Bacchanalia* D.-S. I, 590; Preller-Jordan, II, 363; Wissowa, *Bacchanal* P.-W. II, 2721; Fowler, 346; Spinelli, *La decadenza religiosa e la repres. dei Baccanali a Roma*, 35 f.

(5) *C. I. L. I*, 196 = X, 104; Liv. XXXIX, 41, 6; XL, 19, 9, Spinelli, *La dec. rel. e la repres. dei Baccanali*, 121.

Campania were doubtless similar. The abuses were done away with, and the cult as a whole greatly declined, but references to a much later era, which attest the presence of associations called *thiasi* for the worship of some form of Bacchus, show that the cult marked by mystic devotion to the wine god did not altogether cease.

The attempts to uproot his worship were aided by the circumstance that the Oriental cults, which had already obtained a foothold in Campania and elsewhere, offered a substitute in a different guise for the cult which had been prescribed. They found a ready admission here because Puteoli the greatest Italian sea-port was situated in this region. Its development began immediately after the Second Punic War, and through it for several generations passed the commerce of Rome with the Orient (1). Another means of communication with the East was the extension of the *Via Appia*, which in the second century B. C. was carried from Campania as far as Tarentum and Brundisium. In addition to the influence of traders and travelers the new religions were promoted by the presence of vast numbers of slaves and by returning emigrants. The Italians in truth who went to the East were mostly from Campania and Sicily. The same causes which in our own time have impelled the inhabitants of these parts to seek their fortunes in the New World operated in the third century B. C. and later, with the result that numerous Campanians took up their abode at Delos and elsewhere for the sake of gain (2).

The new religion in all cases took the form of a personal appeal to the individual; it offered with greater or less emphasis the hope of a blessed existence beyond the grave, but made no pretense to promote the material welfare of the community as a whole. Here belongs the worship of Isis and Serapis introduced through the port of Puteoli as early as the beginning of the second century B. C.; at the end of that

(1) Lafaye, *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie* 41, 43; Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 430-1.

(2) Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* 65; Homolle. *Les Romains à Délos* in *Bull. corr. hell.* VIII (1884) 81; Hatzfeld, *Les Italiens résidant à Délos* in *Bull. corr. hell.* XXXVI (1912) 130.

century it had spread to Pompeii and other points, where it was not only tolerated but also publicly recognized. It then continued on its way till it reached Rome (1). The worship of Magna Mater had probably been introduced into Campania still earlier. During the Hannibalic War it made little progress, but after the close of that struggle it took on new vigor (2). The goddess readily associated herself with the mineral springs and mountains of the country and perhaps also with its caves. From this time on the region offered a fertile field for all the mystery religions of the Orient, which in some instances were admitted as legal forms of public worship (3).

Aside from the development of the Oriental cults, the Romanization of the existing forms of religion through the establishment of colonies formed the most characteristic feature of this period. These were regularly accompanied by the institution of official priesthoods modelled upon those prevailing at Rome. This fact is attested by the law applicable to a colonization in Spain, a copy of which has been preserved, and in the case of Campania by a reference to the religious officials at Capua (4). Among these public priests appear most often in inscriptions the names of pontiffs and augurs, whose number in the cities of Campania is generally uncertain. They attended to the formal religious exercises of their respective communities, and in particular cases they doubtless had special duties to perform, as was true in other colonies, where by chance a record has been preserved. Their functions in general coincided with those of their prototypes in Rome; the auspices were entrustd to the augurs, and the

(1) Preller-Jordan, II 378; Carter, *Rel. of Numa* 136; Wissowa, 351; Lafaye, *Hist. du culte des divin. d'Alexandrie* 40 and *L'introduction du culte de Sérapis à Rome* in *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.* XI (1885) 328; Lovatelli, *Il culto di Iside in Roma* in *Nuova antologia* ser. 3 XXVIII (1890) 37; Ciaceri, *La festa di S. Agata e l'antico culto di Iside* in *Arch. stor. per la Sicilia orient.* II (1905) 273. Cumont, *Rev arch.* ser. 5, V (1917) 87 f.

(2) Lafaye, *op. cit.* 40, 41; Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* 34.

(3) Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 430; Carter, *Rel. of Numa* 137.

(4) *Lex Coloniae Juliae Genitiuae*, *Ep. Eph.* III, 91 f.; Dessau, 6087; Cic. *leg. agr.* II, 96.

commentarii and *fasti* to the pontiffs (1). The latter also performed the public sacrifices on the appointed days for certain cults introduced under Roman influence, which were without a regular priest. The pontiffs, in short, along with the augurs were the exponents of the formal religion of the Roman state (2). Like the public priests of individual deities they seem to have been selected in the same manner as officials with purely secular duties. At first, as in other parts of the Roman world, they were chosen at general elections, but later were appointed by the decurions who formed the municipal council (3).

Flamens, who were not yet so numerous as at a later time when the worship of the Emperors had developed, seem to have had a higher rank than either of the other two classes (4). According to Herbst the municipal haruspices were beneath all the others in dignity and importance; yet while this was doubtless their nominal rank, instances are not lacking in Campania as in other parts of Italy, where the men who filled this position were of considerable local prominence (5).

In other ways too the colonies strove to make themselves as much like Rome as possible. Particularly by the institution of the Capitoline triad and the construction of *Capitolia* they endeavored to show their vital connection with the mother

(1) For the special assignments which might be given to such officials see the two inscriptions of Lambaesis *C. I. L.* III, 2660, 2661. Cp. Herbst, *De sacerdotiis Romanorum municipalibus* 20.

(2) Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* I, 172; Marquardt-Wissowa, *Röm. Staatsverw.* III, 214; Wissowa, 516; Spinazzola, *Gli augures* 108.

(3) Campania furnishes instances of priests selected by the decurions at Neapolis and Cumae and of augurs at Puteoli. No examples can be cited for the earlier method, which occurs in the *lex Coloniae Juliae Genitiuae* belonging to the first century B. C. But this decree probably embodies forms and usages generally prevalent and authorized also for Italy. Marquardt, *op. cit.* I, 68, 151; Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire* 132; Correra, *'Arch. stor. Sic.* XVIII (1893) 613; De Petra, *Atti Nap.* XII (1884-6) 64; Spinazzola, *Gli augures* and *Degli auguri nei municipii* in *Atti Nap.* XVI (1891-3) part 2, 29 f.

(4) Spinazzola, *Gli augures* 125.

(5) Herbst, *De sacerd. Rom. munic.* 21; Thulin, *Haruspices* P.-W. VII, 2439 with instances of prominent officials of this grade.

city, and thus gave expression to the religion of patriotism (1). The worship of Vesta and the Lares Compitales and the observances of household religion in the Roman fashion found their appropriate place. To the ancient festivals commemorating the foundation of the various shrines were added the principal celebrations of Rome. Statius has left an account of Diana's midsummer festival celebrated by the household of Pollius Felix at Surrentum, the wall paintings of Pompeii preserve allusions to the festival of Minerva (Quinquatrus) celebrated by the fullers and that of Vesta celebrated by the bakers, and finally a wall inscription at Pompeii records the Saturnalia (2). As time went on there was a tendency to replace the originally modest dwellings of the gods with more elaborate structures, as is amply demonstrated by the history of the Pompeian temples.

THE PROGRESS OF RELIGION IN CAMPANIA UNDER THE EMPIRE.

Campania was marked by a very early development of the Imperial cult. As early as 44 B. C. an order had been issued from Rome directing that at all public games held in Italy one day should be consecrated to Diuus Iulius, and two years later all Italian municipalities were required by a *lex Rufrena* to set up an image of that deity (3). But Campania went beyond all requirements in the worship of the Emperors. Here Augustus was worshipped openly during his lifetime in a way quite opposed to the conditions prevalent in Rome but like those that were found in the Eastern provinces. Nor were

(1) Castan erroneously maintained that the building of Capitols was one of the latest forms of showing loyalty to the Roman government and that it was encouraged by Augustus. In reality Capitols began to be erected during the last century of the Republic. Castan, *Les Capitoles provinciaux* 68; cp. 64 and Dion. Hal. IV, 61, 4. For the relation of Augustus to the Jupiter cult in general see Aust, *Iuppiter* Roscher II, 747, f.

(2) Stat., *silv.* III, 1, 68; C. *I. L.* IV 2005a. See pp. 234, 255.

(3) Dio Cass. XLIV 6, 2; C. *I. L.* VI 872, IX 5136; Heinen, *Zur Begründung des röm. Kaiserkultes* in *Klio* XI (1911) 133, 136.

his instructions obeyed that his worship should be combined with that of the goddess Roma (1).

Its precocious development was due primarily to the character of the inhabitants, a large number of whom were of Greek or Oriental descent (2). The influence of the Emperors was also unusually great here, as the Imperial possessions on the Campanian coast were extensive even from the time of Augustus (3). Hirschfeld believed that the towns which honored the living Emperor were colonies of his creation or had been the recipients of his bounty like Puteoli, which was grateful for his aid in developing its commerce. Gardthausen, however, citing the case of Terracina, where these reasons would not apply but where the living monarch was none the less worshipped, considers justly that the opinion of Hirschfeld here is untenable. It should be remarked, however, that the instance at Terracina is not parallel with the examples of the divine honor rendered to Augustus in Campania, as in the former case his cult was combined with that of Roma (4). In all probability the early worship in Campania as stated above, was due chiefly to the character of the inhabitants.

The cult was carried on by a multiplicity of organizations principally composed of freedmen and slaves. Its flourishing condition both in temples and in connection with the Lares Compitales is abundantly attested by epigraphical remains from Pompeii and other places. The important organization which embraced the most wealthy and influential members of the class of freedmen was found in all the Campanian towns, where it bore the name of Augustales without the addition of seuiri (5).

(1) Beurlier, *Le culte impèrial* 169; Geiger *De sacerdotibus Augustorum municipalibus* 9.

(2) Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* 145; Hirschfeld, *Zur Geschichte des röm. Kaiserkultes* in *Sitzungsber. des preuss. Akademie der Wiss.* XXXV (1888) part 2 837 f. = *Kleine Schriften* 477 f.

(3) Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften* 533.

(4) Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften* 477; *C. I. L.* X, 6305; Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* II, 517, note 66.

(5) Beurlier, *Le* culte *impériale* 17, 194; von Premerstein, *Augustales,* Ruggiero I, 829; Neumann, *Augustales* P.-W. II 2356; L. Taylor, *'Augustales, Seviri Augustales, Seviri* in *Trans. and. Proc. of the Amer. Phil. Assoc.* XLV (1914) 234.

The excavations at Pompeii give invaluable assistance to our efforts to obtain an idea of religious conditions prevalent in Campania at the opening of the Christian era, when the pagan world was at the height of its power. Stimulated by the injection of a new element in the form of the worship of the deified Emperors and by the care shown for religion by Augustus, the polytheistic system showed an abundance of life (1). Besides the formal religion of the state, the cults which appealed to the individual were now present to round out the religious life of the community, but had not begun to manifest appreciably their disintegrating effects (2). The remains of Pompeii bear witness to a thriving religious life in the first century A. D., marked by a sufficiency of public temples and by countless wayside and domestic shrines. Persons interested in the adornment of the city, and desiring at the same time to honor the gods, set up statues of various deities at their own expense in public places, - a fact often mentioned in inscriptions. Petronius, speaking of some Campanian city the identity of which is disputed, says that the community in question was so crowded with gods that they were easier to find than men (3).

Festivals occupied an important place in the life of the times, and though valued largely as a means of relaxation or excitement, were often at least nominally of a religious nature. Those in which the latter characteristic predominated comprised the old celebrations marking the anniversary of temple foundations. According to Nissen such festivals at Pompeii occurred chiefly in the summer from May to Au-

(1) Macchioro, *Il sincretismo religioso e l'epigrafia* in *Rev. arch.* IX (1907) 279 f.

(2) The most thoughtful men at Rome, however, perceived the danger of these religions, and from time to time tried to do away with them at least in Rome itself. Cp. Macchioro *op. cit.* 142.

(3) Petron. 17: Nostra regio tam praesentibus plena est numinibus ut facilius possis deum quam hominem inuenire. Cp. Capasso-De Petra *Napoli greco-romana* 5. The place referred to by Petronius is probably Neapolis. Cp. Collignon, *Etude sur Pétron* 4; Cocchia, *Napoli e il Satyricon di Petronio Arbitro* in *Arch. stor. Nap.* XVIII (1893) 278 f.; Ussani, *Studi Italiani di filologia classica* XIII (1905) 17. But Cumae, Puteoli, and Misenum have also had their champions. See list in Schanz. *Gesch. der röm. Lit.* II, part 2, 126.

gust (1). Besides the series of games like the Italica at Neapolis, which were peculiar to a single locality, we may infer that the principal festivals recognized in the capital had their counterparts in the Campanian towns. This condition of affairs is abundantly illustrated by the record of festivals celebrated at Cumae in honor of Augustus, which were similar to those at Rome but not identical with them (2). Religion also had an intimate relation to the daily life of the people, as is proved by a multitude of altars and shrines and by the circumstance that mural decorations, statuary, and even hastily scrawled *graffiti* represent or allude to various deities. These, it is true, ordinarily stand for no particular attitude of devotion and in the work of sculptor and painter a decorative rather than a religious purpose was dominant, yet they show how completely such religious notions as were in vogue were associated with the life and thought of the people in general, and at all events the deity who became popular in art was first a force in religion. The divinity's secularization appears in the case of Attis who came into prominence in Italy late enough for us to follow his development. The figure of the Mourning Attis, which at first had a deep religious significance became in Campania by the time of the Flavian Emperors merely a popular type to reproduce in art (3).

With the lapse of time the cults derived from the East encroached more and more upon the domain of the older deities. To the causes for their growth existent in earlier times was added the circumstance that Agrippa had made Misenum a great naval station to which many Orientals were attached. Records transmitted from Puteoli show that nearly every Oriental cult reaching the West was represented in that section. Here in 134 A. D. the first recorded taurobolium was performed as a part of the ritual of Venus Caelestis. Long before this Christianity had been introduced and as elsewhere made its first converts among the Jews. The latter were present in considerable numbers in this region, as is proved by notices which have reached us from Puteoli, Neapolis, Capua, Pom-

(1) Nissen, *Orientation* 286-7.

(2) See p. 79.

(3) Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 438.

peii and other towns (1). According to Tertullian there were no Christians in Campania in 79 A. D. upon whom the blame for the disaster of that year could be laid; but while the Christian communities were then insignificant and obscure, it is impossible to doubt their presence (2).

The newer forms of religion, increasing steadily in the second century A. D. at the expense of the old, took great strides forward in the third (3). This, however, is an inference drawn from the history of these cults in general rather than a fact based upon evidence belonging to this region, which is comparatively meager for the third century. Nor are we in a position to follow the qualitative changes which took place in the various cults after the days of the Roman Republic. It has been maintained that such modifications did not take place and the worship of Mithras has been cited as an example of the stability found in the pagan cults (4). Now it is indeed true that religion of every form is naturally conservative and opposed to innovations, - a condition that appears at its maximum in the religious practices controlled directly by the state and at its minimum in the cults of personal devotion. But in spite of this innate conservatism the history of religion demonstrates that there is inevitably some change either in its forms and doctrines or at least in the significance attached to its acts. So the cult of Mithras doubtless had some local peculiarities and underwent miñor modifications in the course of time. If the taurobolium was never a feature of this cult, it became at a relatively late date by official sanction an integral part of the ceremonies of Magna Mater, though o-

(1) Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain* I, 182; Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums* II, 216; Renan, *Antichrist* (translation of Allen) 37; Schürer, Gesch. d. Juden, III, 67, gives a list of the chief Jewish communties in Italy. The earliest reference to their presence is a notice of the year 4 B. C. from Puteoli.

(2) Tert. *apol.* 40. Cp. Harnack, *op. cit.* II, 74.

(3) For a list of the places in southern Italy where the chief Oriental cults are attested see Drexler, *Meter*, Roscher II, 2919 f. and *Isis*, *Roscher* II, 398.

(4) Macchioro, *Rev. arch.* IX (1907), 156; Wissowa, 372-373.

riginally it was entirely separated from them (1). There was probably a tendency toward syncretism with a modification of the ideas for which the old gods stood, but this feature did not become very prominent in Campania (2). The worship of the Emperors, which had degenerated everywhere by the third century has left no traces of its continued existence in Campania (3). The attempted revival of the old state religion on the part of the Emperor Decius through a persecution of the Christians met with little permanent success (4).

The adherents of the latter religion had already in the second century a community at Neapolis in addition to the one established at Puteoli (5). At first they remained almost unnoticed but their ever increasing numbers soon compelled attention and finally alarm on the part of the authorities. While their membership was largely composed of humble folk, converts of high rank especially women were not unknown from early times. They were confined to the towns and made no progress in the open country (6). Details of the early churches, however, are entirely lacking in the Campanian cities. In spite of the persecutions which at-

(1) Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatif aux mystères de Mithra* I, 293. Cp. I, 152 For the origin and development of the taurobolium and its extension to other cults see Cumont, I, 334; *Rev. arch.* XII (1888) 132 f.; *Rev. d'hist et de litt. relig.* VI (1901) 102, and. *Rev. de phil.* XVII (1893) 195 f.; Espérandieu, *Taurobolium* D.-S. V, 46; Zippel, *Das Taurobolium* in *Festschrift für Friedländer* 498 f.; Wissowa, 324; Loisy, *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.* IV (1913) 311; Hepding, *Attis* 199 (*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* I.).

(2) Macchioro, *Rev. arch.* IX (1907) 141 f. Cp. Réville. *La religion a Rome sous les Sévères* 109.

(3) Beurlier, *Le culte impériale* 44.

(4) Seeck, *Gesch. d. Untergangs d. ant. Welt* III, 298; von Domaszewski *Magna Mater in Latin Inscriptions* 'n *Jour. Rom. Stud.* I, (1911) 153.

(5) Harnack. *Die Mission u. Ausbreitung d. Christentums* II, 76; Lanzoni *Riv. storico-crit. delle scienze teol.* VI (1910) 293.

(6) I *Corinthians*, I, 26; Origen, *contra Celsum* I 27, III 18, 44; VIII 75; Min. Fel. *Octav.* V, 8-12; *Lucian, Peregrinus* 12-13; Weitsäcker, *Das apostolische Zeitalter* 407 f.; Harnack, *op. cit.* II 25 f.; Knopf, *Ueber die soziale Zusammensetzung der ältesten heidenchristlichen Gemeinden* in *Zeits. für Theol. und Kirche* X (1900) 325 f. and *Nachapostolisches Zeitalter* 64 f. The same may be said of the earlier followers of Mithras, Cumont, *Mithras* Roscher II, 3036; Bigg, *The Origins of Christianity* 20; Grätz-Braun, *Gesch. der Juden* III, 419.

tempted to stop the increase of Christianity as soon as its identity and principles became fully known, it had succeeded in planting and maintaining other churches especially in southern Italy, as is indicated by the circumstance that a large part of the sixty bishops who participated in the Council called by Pope Cornelius in 251, seem to have come from this section (1).

At the beginning of the fourth century there were Christian communities also at Capua, Misenum, Nola, and Nuceria; a resident bishop presided over the churches of Neapolis and Nola and probably likewise over those of Capua and Puteoli. According to the *Liber Pontificalis* Constantine erected basilicas at Capua and Neapolis, the only cities outside of Rome for which this honor is recorded (2). There were in all probability more Christians here than in the central and northern parts of the peninsula. In fact the coast district centering at Puteoli and Neapolis was one of the three great strongholds of this religion in Italy (3). As a result of the persecutions, especially that under Diocletian, a considerable number of martyrs were recorded in the various churches. Many Jews were likewise present in the Campanian cities especially Neapolis; their history, however, is very obscure till the very close of the ancient world (4).

(1) Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* VI, 43; Harnack, *Die Mission u. Ausbreitung d. Christentums* II, 212, 215; Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien* 29. The total number of bishops in Italy in the third century is estimated at 100. The period 260-300 was everyhere one of great advancement for the Church. Harnack *op. cit.* II, 216.

(2) *Liber Pontificalis* XXXI, XXXII (Duchesne's edition I, 186; Lanzoni, *Riv. storico-crit. delle scienze teol.* VI (1910) 294.

(3) The other centers were Rome and Ariminum. Harnack, *op. cit.* II 220.

(4) A law of Honorius belonging to the year 398 mentions the Jews in Apulia and Calabria. *Cod. Theod.* XII, I, 158; Tamassia, *Ebrei nell'Italia meridionale* in *Atti del r. Ist. Veneto* LXIII (1903-4) 796 f.; Ferorelli, *Gli Ebrei nell'Italia meridionale* in *Arch. stor. Nap.* XXXII (1907) 255. A letter of Pope Gelasius I to a bishop Quinigesius, whose see was located in some Campanian town which can not now be determined, speaks of a certain Telesinus as a man of prominence who was a believer in the doctrines of the Jews (before 499). Mansi, *Amplissima collectio conciliorum* VIII 131; Ascoli, *Istruzione di antichi sepolcri giudaici del Napolitano* 35; Tamassa, *loc. cit.*; Grätz-Eppenstein *Gesch. der Juden* V. 40.

Although the triumph of Christianity was assured as soon as it was officially recognized by the government and had obtained the sanction of the reigning emperor Constantine, it still had several important battles to fight before Paganism was overthrown. Ancient heathen practices continued to have a place for many years after the system as a whole had been repudiated as the state religion of the Roman Empire. The Emperors, it is true, passed frequent ordinances restricting the activity of those who clung to the old order of things, yet in their attitude to the pagan religion these rulers were often inconsistent. Thus at the end of the fourth century provincial priests were still regularly appointed to supervise the religious interests of the different districts, and in carrying out their work acted as the Emperor's representative to put the stamp of official approval upon religious exercises belonging to Paganism (1).

An important original document, exemplifying the activity of this kind of official, affords an insight into the state of religion prevailing in Campania during the reign of Valentinian II and Theodosius (2). It is dated Nov. 22, 387 and consists of a list of festivals authorized by Imperial consent for the Campanian region; it was promulgated at Capua, the chief Campanian city at that time, which served as the residence of the provincial priest Romanus Iunior (3). Though there was a strong Christian community in this locality, it is likely that this priesthood was favored or at least tolerated on account of the part played by its incumbent in providing

(1) The privileges of this officer were taken away by a decree of general application issued in 396. *Cod. Theod.* XVI, 10, 14. The priesthood is treated by Marquardt, *Ep. Eph.* I, 213 and *Röm. Staatsverw.* I , 504 f. .

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 3792 = D. 4918 = V. 1022. Commentaries by Avellino, *Opuscoli diversi* III, 215-304; Mommsen, *Berichte der sächs. Ges. der Wiss.* 1850 64 f. = *Gesammelte Schriften* VIII, 14-24.

(3) Mommsen *op. cit.* 16 calls attention to the fact that this day was the anniversary of Valentinian's ascent to the throne. For the extent of Campania at this time see Ruggiero, II 42 and. p. I of this work. Avellino thought that the festivals were of only local significance; Mommsen on the contrary believed that they were intended for the entire province. Probably they were designed for the region tributary to Capua. The danger of having too many holidays was averted by legal enactments. Cp. *Cod. Iust.* III, 12, 3; III, 12, 6; *Cod. Theod.* II, 8.

games (1). A second person Felix, who attended to the preparation of the inscription, was considered by Mommsen to be a subordiate official directly dependent on the Emperor (2).

The holy days here enumerated are marked by observances of a general human interest and are not concerned with the worship of any particular god. The first festival on Jan. 3 is devoted to the making of annual prayers for the welfare of the Emperor and also by implication for that of the state, - a time hallowed custom observed at Rome and throughout the extent of the Empire (3). The act was not one which was repugnant to the ideas of the Christians; in fact it was adopted by the Church and is mentioned as late as the seventh century (4). The second festival called *Genialia* under date of Feb. 11 seems to stand for *ludi genialici*, a term that reappears in the *fasti Philocali* (5). Its real significance is unknown. According to Mommsen's original interpretation it was a celebration in honor of birth; according to his later view which is followed by Otto and is more plausible, these games were connected with the establishment of a cult of the Genius of the Roman people at the *rostra* in Rome (6).

While the first festival and probably also the second were patriotic in character, the third, coming on the first of May, was in the interest of agriculture and consisted of a lustration of the growing crops. It was held at the town of Casilinum by the Volturnus River, where the modern Capua stands, and may have been originally a festival in honor of the divinity of the local stream (7). The thirteenth day of the same month is marked for the celebration of the *rosalia*, which at Rome took place as a public festival ten days later but which

(1) Avellino, *Opusc. diversi* III, 280; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* I, 505.

(2) Mommsen, *Gesam. Schr*, VIII, 17.

(3) Marquardt, III, 266; Preller-Jordan, I, 133, 182; Wissowa, 382.

(4) Mommsen, *Gesam. Schr.* VIII 18; Mansi, *Amplissima collectio conciliorum* XI, 972, section 62 of the Canons of Trullo (691 A. D.).

(5) *C. I. L.* I, p. 258.

(6) Mommsen, *Gesam. Schr.* VIII, 18 and *C. I. L.* I, 309; Avellino, *Opusc. diversi*, 242; W. F. Otto, *Genius* P. - W. VII, 1166; Jordan, *Topog. d. Stadt Rom* I, part 2, 377. Cp. *Chronographus anni 354* in *Mommsen, Chronica minora* I, 148.

(7) For an account of the ceremonies of lustration see Marquardt-Wissowa, *Röm. Staatsr.* III , 201; Wissowa, 390.

was also celebrated privately at other times (1). The main feature of the day was the decoration of the graves with flowers, an act which appealed to the Christian population as well as the Pagans, with the result that the festival was taken over into the ceremonies of the Church (2). The amphitheater mentioned in this record is doubtless that of Capua, where certain public exercises would be held prior to the decoration of the graves.

The next festivals are dated July 25 and July 27 respectively. The first, described as a lustration at the river reached by the *Via Dianae*, seems to be another celebration belonging to rural life and marking the close of the harvest period (3). It was held at the bridge over the Volturnus River east of Casilinum, a spot at no great distance from the famous temple of Diana on the slope of Mt. Tifata (4). Two days later the place and character of the festival changed. It was now held in the vicinity of Lake Avernus near Baiae and Cumae and assumed the character of a commemorative service for the dead, a midsummer All Souls' day, which was paralleled by the Roman *feralia* celebrated in the opposite part of the year. The place of the service was fitting, as it had been associated from time immemorial with the dead and with the chthonic deities. The last festival under date of Oct. 15 was assigned to the vicinity of the neighboring Lake Acherusia (Lago del Fusaro), and was concerned with the vintage. The legal term for the *feriae uindemiales* extended from Aug. 23 to Oct. 15; comparing this with the *feriae messiuae* already mentioned, we may infer that the duration of the season for Campania was one month before Oct. 15, and that here too the last day formed the principal part of the festivities (5).

(1) Cp. *Fasti Philocali, C. I. L.* I, p. 264; cp. p. 318.

(2) Avellino, *Opusc. diversi* III, 254 f.; Marquardt-Wissowa, *Röm. Staatsr.* III, 311; Steuding, *Manes*, Roscher II, 2322.

(3) Mommsen, *Gesam. Schr.*, VIII, 19. The *interpretatio* to the *Constitutiones* of Theodosius II, 8 states that the harvest festival with its cessation of legal business should be considered from June 24 to Aug. 1. The time to be regarded as a legal holiday seems to have been fixed in accordance with local conditions in the various provinces, so that in Campania the period ended July 25.

(4) Preller-Jordan, II, 142 note 3.

(5) *Interpretatio* to the *Constitutiones* of Theodosius *loc. cit.*

The various celebrations therefore which were ordered by the Romans pertained to religion only in its broadest sense. Free from any tendency toward sectarianism, they exhibit the traits of an age of toleration, and seem designed to afford all classes of citizens, Christian as well as Pagan, the opportunity to meet on neutral ground, where the prejudices of neither party would be disturbed. It thus affords an insight into conditions which prevailed at a critical period of European history, - the transition from the old regime to the new. It is the last word from Campania before the change was effected.

CHAPTER II

CUMAE, BAIAE, MISENUM.

Cumae has secured a lasting renown as the first Greek colony in the western Mediterranean. Founded upon the precipitous rocks which approach the sea to the north of Cape Misenum, it was protected for the most part by insurmountable walls. Toward the east, however, the land slopes away more gradually to form a valley and thus afforded no natural protection. At first the settlement was doubtless confined to the Acropolis, as was the case in the early Middle Ages, after the town had been violently ravaged. The volcanic soil of the surrounding country interspersed with numerous lakes received the name of the Phlegraean Fields.

Though once a community of importance, its territory was always comparatively small. The Campanian plain, which extended to a point only a few miles distant from its walls on the north and east, was originally owned by Capua; when this in large measure was taken away from its former proprietors by the Romans, the latter utilized it for establishing colonies, and henceforth Liternum became the neighbor of Cumae on the north. Immediately to the east began the territory of Puteoli. Under Augustus Cape Misenum left the jurisdiction of Cumae and became the seat of an independent municipality. In the Ager Cumanus remained the lakes Avernus, Lucrinus and Acherusia as well as the subordinate communities Bauli and Baiae, which seem to have had no separate legal existence, though the latter during the Empire had far surpassed Cumae itself in importance.

Archaeological evidence points to a considerable maritime activity in the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. At this

time Cumae exercised its great mission as a civilizing force, and the characters of its script, coming to the knowledge of the Italian peoples, formed the basis for all their alphabets. Later, commerce dwindled and agriculture became the leading source of wealth. Under foreign domination the town declined rapidly in all respects, until it produced little that was worthy of note except a certain kind of pottery. Under the Empire it was celebrated for its tranquillity, and regarded merely as the « gate to Baiae » (1).

As the Greeks arrived at such an early time - probably in the eighth century B. C. - there was much uncertainty about the circumstances connected with their settlement. The colony was certainly largely Chalcidian, but it is probable that other Greek cities particularly Cyme (in Aetolia ?) had a share in the colonization. At any rate the settlement prospered greatly and before long sent out colonies of its own to Zancle in Sicily and to the Italian coast immediately to the south, where Naples and Pozzuoli now stand. Its power continued for another century under the able leadership of Aristodemus, who was successful in defending his city against the combined attack of the Etruscans from Capua and of other tribes belonging to the neighborhood. (524 B. C.) Later in conjunction with the fleet of Syracuse, Cumae overthrew the naval supremacy of the Etruscans (474 B. C.), but within another half century was itself stormed by the Samnites (428 or 421). Many of the inhabitants fled to Neapolis, and though the Greek customs and institutions continued to survive, the Oscan speech gradually came into regular use (2).

When Campania came under the sway of the Romans, Cumae was forced to accept the same masters, and at that time received the right of limited citizenship (*ciuitas sine suffragio* 334 B. C.). After its loss of independence its history offers little of interest. It formed a part of the jurisdiction of the *præfectus Capuam Cumas*, and in the tumultuous times of the

(1) For accounts of Cumæ see Beloch, *Campanien im Alterthum* 157; Nissen, *It. Landeskunde* II, 717 f.; De Petra, *I Porti antichi dell'Italia merid.* in *Monografia storica dei porti dell'antichità nella penisola italiana* 317.

(2) Strab. V. 4, 4. According to Gabrici the Samnite influence became preponderant in art. *Cuma* in *Boll. d'arte* IV (1910) 112.

Carthaginian wars it remained faithful to Rome. In the year 180 B. C. it adopted Latin as the official language, received the full suffrage at about the same time, and continued as a Roman municipality till Augustus located there a military colony. We hear little of it henceforth except in connection with Baiae. Its Acropolis, however, remained a stronghold well into the Middle Ages, as it is known to have resisted successfully the army of Narses in his war against the Goths. In fact it fell only at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when it was stormed by the Neapolitans (1205) (1).

The importance of Cumae in the field of ancient religion is greater than the size or intrinsic worth of the place at any time would suggest. On the one hand it was the seat of religious traditions embodied in literature, which gained a wide currency and a commanding influence. On the other hand it exercised a great positive influence upon the religion of its neighbors in the early centuries; from this source, as has already been explained, went forth the Greek conceptions of the gods which modified so profoundly the primitive notions of the Italian peoples (2).

PHRATRY GODS

For the constitution of the state in its religious aspects there is no direct evidence. Something, however, may be inferred from our knowledge of early conditions in Cumae's flourishing colony Neapolis. From this source we learn of the existence of phratries having their own gods and religious observances (3). An inscription from Neapolis alludes to a dedication made to the gods of the phratry of the Kymaioi; the term may refer to the refugees that fled to Neapolis at the time of the Samnite conquest, but as Beloch observes, it may also designate a phratry already existent at Cumae, composed of

(1) For the history of Cumae consult Mommsen *C. I. L.* X, p. 350; Beloch 145-152; Gabrici, *Cuma* in *Mon. ant.* XXII (1913) 439-448; Byvanck, *De Magnae Graeciae historia antiquissima* 81; Gardthausen, *Das Alter italischer Schrift und die Gründung von Cumae* in *Neue Jahrb. für das class. Altertum* XXXVII (1916) 369 f.

(2) See p. 18.

(3) Cp. Beloch, 42.

settlers from that Cyme — either in Aetolia or Euboea — which sent colonists to its Italian namesake (1). Hence there is the same possibility here as at Neapolis that Hephaestus, Dionysus, and Heracles were considered as the special divinities of this phratry (2). Likewise the other phratries cited at Neapolis probably existed for the most part in the parent city with the same organization and gods. They will be considered more fully in the treatment of Neapolis.

ZEUS

Among the old Greek divinities who came to Italy with the first settlers from Chalcis was Zeus, who was recognized in that city under the designation of Olympius and Milichius (3). But, while Zeus appears there as the guardian of oaths, evidence is lacking for magnifying his influence and calling him, as does Beloch, the protecting divinity of that state, with the assumption that his worship was consequently of much importance in the colony (4). Yet he doubtless occupied here a commodious temple where his worship continued through the various stages of the city's history both as Zeus and later as Jupiter, when Roman influence predominated. An evidence of the high position attained by the cult appears in the fact that the temple contained gold in the third century B. C. and that an omen reported here was considered important enough to affect the fortunes of the Roman people. In narrating the events of 208 B. C. before the consuls proceeded to their provinces, Livy inserts a list of ominous occurences pertaining to Campania, among which was the notice that mice had gnawed gold in the Jupiter temple, attacking perhaps the very image of the deity (5). The site of the earliest shrine was probably on the

(1) Beloch 41. *I. G.* XIV, 721 = *C. I. G.* 5788. Cp. also the phratry of the Euboioi, *N. S.* 1900, 269.

(2) Engelmann, *Arch. Zeit* XXXI (1874) 133; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* V, 395; von Wilamowitz, *Nachr. von der kgl. Gesells. der Wiss. zu Göttingen* 1895, 228 note 24.

(3) *I. G.* I, 27.a; *C. I. G.* 2150.

(4) Beloch, 156, 161.

(5) Liv. XXVII, 23, 2; Et ex Campania nuntiata erant Cumis - adeo minimis etiam rebus praua religio inserit deos - mures in aede Iouis aurum rosisse. Cp. Plut. *Sulla* VII.

Acropolis in the midst of the first settlement. Beloch located it on the western spur of the heights, perhaps the most sightly situation in the city, where the ruins of a temple have left their traces. Although they have now almost disappeared, steps and fragments of columns still stood in their original position at the close of the eighteenth century, and De Iorio remarks that they vanished during his life time (1). Beloch's identification is based upon the fact that so prominent a position and so large a structure as the foundation walls indicate must have belonged to a very important deity (2). But it is just as likely that some other deity important in the earlier period of the city occupied this site, especially since Servius seems to exclude Jupiter from the Acropolis, and it has been proposed to associate this spot with the sanctuary of the Dioscuri.

The name of Jupiter has also been connected with a ruin of Roman times, known as the *Tempio dei Giganti,* which stood on the plain outside the walls. Only a few stones of this structure still remain, but a drawing made in the eighteenth century (1740) shows the rear wall to have then been standing (3). In a large niche of this building stood apparently a colossal statue of Jupiter, which was discovered in the eighteenth century and is now in the National Museum at Naples. It is a Roman work assigned to the first century of the Empire; resembling the Zeus of Otricoli and the Pompeian Jupiter, it is of inferior execution. Gabrici maintains that it is a representation of Jupiter Victor rather than of Jupiter Stator (4).

Other references to the divinity designated as Zeus or Jupiter consist of the allusion to a sacrifice ordered to Jupiter

(1) De Iorio, *Guida di Pozzuoli* 115. This writer fancied that these remains belonged to the Greek temple of Apollo. His plan of the city is reproduced by Beloch, Pl. IV and by Gabrici, *Cuma* in *Mon. Ant.* XXII, Pl. II.

(2) Beloch, 161.

(3) Reproduced in *Boll. d'arte* IV (1910) 110; *Mon. ant.* XXII, Pl. 11. De Iorio seems to have thought this a temple of Mercury in the Forum of the city. *Guida* 118; cp. Paoli, *Antiquitatum reliquiae* fol. 29, Pl. XLVII. This spot appears in reality to have been occupied by a temple of Ceres.

(4) Gabrici, *Boll. d'arte* IV (1910) 116 and *Mon. ant.* XXII, 18. The sculpture is portrayed in these works p. 112 and p. 19 respectively and also in *Real Museo di Napoli* III frontispiece. Cp. Rüsch, *Guida illustrata del Museo nazionale di Napoli* 287 No. 1258; Gerhard-Panofka, *Neapels antike Bildwerke* 318.

Sempiternus in honor of Augustus, which will be treated under the worship of the Emperors, and a doubtful inscription on a painted vase found at Cumae. The reading of the latter, however, is rather εὖ Σωτήρ than Ζεῦ Σωτήρ, though in any case there is probably an allusion to the custom of offering a special libation to this god (1).

APOLLO

Much more information has reached us respecting the cult of Apollo, who according to tradition conducted the Greek colonists to their new home in the West. Statius in his Silvae, although speaking of Neapolis, refers to this god as one of the old deities of the Chalcidians under whose leadership their fleet found its way to Italy, and in another passage of the same series of poems alludes to the dove that flew ahead of them as the god's representative (2). This notion is in keeping especially with the custom of the Chalcidians to send out colonies which were regarded as tithes due to Apollo, and we may conclude that he was venerated at Cumae as a patron of colonization (3).

His temple, already one of the foremost shrines of Italy, attained a remarkable celebrity because of the detailed account of it inserted by Vergil in his *Aeneid*. According to the tradition adopted by the poet it had been founded by the inventor Daedalus, who as in Sicily figures here as an architect. Alighting in the Acropolis after a flight through the air directly from Crete, or arriving after a stay in Sardinia, as reported by Sallust, he built this sanctuary to commemorate his escape and

(1) Avellino, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. VII (1858) 21.

(2) Stat. *silv.* IV, 8, 47-49:

> Tu, ductor populi longe migrantis, Apollo
> cuius adhuc uolucrem laeua ceruice sedentem
> respiciens blande felix Eumelus adorat.

With the appearance of the dove here may be compared the raven at Cyrene and the dolphin at Crisa. Roscher. *Apollo* I, 441. Stat *silv.* III, 5, 79-80:

> Cui mite solum trans aequora uectae
> ipse Dionaea monstrauit Apollo columba.

Cp. Anon. *Laus Pisonis* 91 = Bährens, *Poetae Latini* I, 228.

(3) Roscher *loc. cit.*

piously dedicated his wings to the god (1). Upon the panels of the door he depicted events connected with the Cretan royal family and thus indirectly with himself. Upon the first was shown the death of Androgeus, son of Minos, and with it the King's revenge, — the selection of Athenian victims for the Minotaur; upon the other was portrayed the unnatural passion of Pasiphae, the Labyrinth and the Minotaur (2). This description can not have been wholly a creation of the poet's imagination, but was rather an allusion to an actual door of fine workmanship portraying this myth, a feature of the temple which had given rise to the legend that it was a foundation of Daedalus. The same tradition of the temple as an ancient memorial erected by this hero appears in Silius. In this passage Virrius, leader of the Capuan allies of Hannibal, points to the shrine « gleaming on the rock of the citadel », and declares that it was made by greater hands than those of the present age (3). In the connection of Daedalus with the temple Gruppe sees one of the rare cases of Cretan influence in Italy and thinks of an early settlement. But Pais believes that the connection of the Daedalus legend with Cumae is late and due to Sicilian influence that reached Cumae only in the time of Hiero after the defeat of the Etruscans by the aid of that prince (4).

Like other ancient shrines this one had a venerable cult statue of wood, which was doubtless carefully preserved through all improvements and restorations of the building that housed it. Impressive in size, it measured no less than fifteen

(1) Serv. *Aen.* VI, 14: Daedalus uero primo Sardiniam, ut dicit Sallustius, post delatus est Cumas, et templo Apollini condito sacratisque ei alis in foribus haec uniuersa depinxit.

(2) Verg. *Aen.* VI, 20-33.

(3) Sil. XII, 85-103:

> Atque hic perlustrans aditus, fulgentia cernit
> arcis templo iugo, quorum tum Virrius altae
> inmit's ductor Capuae pri-ordia pandit:
> « non est hoc », inquit, « nostri, quod suspicis aeui,
> maiores fecere manus.....
> Hoc pro nubiuago gratus pia templa meatu
> inmitis ductor Capuae primordia pandit:
> instituit Phoebi atque audacis exuit alas ».

The reference is to the temple of Apollo at Cumae, not to that at Capua as asserted by C. Robert, *Daidalos* P. - W. IV, 2005.

(4) Gruppe 360; Pais, *Stor. della Sic. e della Magna Grecia* I, 163.

Roman feet; hence the expression *altus Apollo* employed by Vergil was regarded by the ancients as a possible reference to this image (1). Among the holy relics which the shrine purported to possess were the wings of Daedalus, which we may infer were not on exhibition, and the tusks of the Erymanthian boar; the claims made for the latter by the natives were rejected by Pausanias who denied their authenticity (2). An allusion to this relic has been seen by certain numismatists on old coins of Cumae, which show the skin from a lion's head between the heads of two wild boars (3). The appearance here of this legend has been ascribed by Pais to Doric influence from Syracuse in the fifth century, but it is more probably due to an actual immigration of Arcadians from Psophis (4).

The temple is mentioned occasionally in Roman history because of the appearance of prodigies. These all occurred in connection with Apollo's statue, which on these occasions was found covered with moisture, either perspiration or tears. The first recorded instance of the miracle belongs to the beginning of the second century B. C. during the war with Antiochus the Great; the second has reference to the period of the third Macedonian conflict, waged against Perseus; the third example, referred by Augustine to the time of the war against the Achaeans and King Aristonicus, claimant of the kingdom of Pergamon, is evidently inaccurately related, as more than a decade

(1) Coelius fr. 54 in Peter, *Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 107. Servius, *Aen.* VI, 9: «Altus» autem.... uel ad simulacri magnitudinem retulit, quod esse constat altissimum. Coelius enim de Cumano Apolline ait ibi fano signum Apollinis ligneum, altum non minus pedes XV. Cp. Busolt, 393 note 3.

(2) Paus. VIII, 24, 5: Κυμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐν 'Οπικοῖς συὸς ὀδόντας ἀνακειμένους παρὰ σφίσιν ἐν 'Απόλλωνος ἱερῷ λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσιν ὡς οἱ ὀδόντες ὑὸς εἶεν τοῦ 'Ερυμανθίου, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον μέτεστιν τοῦ εἰκότος.

Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* I, 325.

(3) The coin is shown by A. Sambon, 150 No. 244-249 and by Garrucci, *Le monete dell'It. ant.* Pl. 83, N°. 23. The theories concerning this money are discussed by A. Sambon, 141-142, L. Sambon, *Recherches sur les monnaies de la presqu'isle italique* 137. A religious significance here is denied by Macdonald, *Coin Types* 79. Cp. Dressel, *Beschreibung der antiken Münzen* III, p. 93.

(4) Gruppe, 371; Pais, *Stor. della Sic.* I, 163 and *Ancient Italy* 269.

elapsed between these conflicts (1). It is worth noting that Augustine cites both the earlier occurrences of the miracle in his interesting account of the superstition that gathered around the omens from Cumae. Because the image had « wept » continuously for four days, certain soothsayers, who had probably been consulted by the Roman government, decided that it ought to be cast into the sea, but the leading men of the city, loath to part with such a willing worker of miracles, counselled against the project on the ground that it had behaved similarly in previous crises, which none the less had turned out in the end most fortunately for the Roman people. In fact they made the plausible supposition that since the cult had been brought from Greece, the god naturally felt compassion whenever that section of the world was doomed to disaster, and added that the Roman Senate, convinced of the truth of this theory, sent presents both times to the shrine. Among the prodigies listed in the consulship of L. Marcius Philippus and Sex. Iulius Caesar (91 B. C.) appears that of the sweating image, and finally there is an allusion by Cicero to the same phenomenon without any circumstances for fixing the date (2).

The references in literature are unanimous in indicating an elevated site for the temple, and in some cases connect it with the Acropolis. Servius noted as singular the location of a temple of Apollo in that situation on the ground that the cita-

(1) Flor. I, 23; 3: Ad hoc caelestes minae territabant, cum umore continuo Apollo sudaret. Liv. XLIII, 13, 5: Cumis in arce Apollo triduum ac tres noctis lacrimauit. Aug. *ciu.* III, 11: Neque enim aliunde Apollo ille Cumanus, cum aduersus Achaeos regemque Aristonicum bellaretur, quadriduo fleuisse nuntiatus est; quo prodigio haruspices territi cum id simulacrum in mare putauissent esse proiciendum, Cumani senes intercesserunt atque rettulerunt tale prodigium et Antiochi et Persis bello in eodem apparuisse figmento et quia Romanis feliciter prouenisset, ex senatus consulto eidem Apollini suo dona esse missa testati sunt. Tunc uelut peritiores acciti haruspices responderunt simulacri Apollinis fletum ideo prosperum esse Romanis, quoniam Cumana colonia Graeca esset, suisque terris, unde accitus esset, id est ipsi Graeciae, luctum et cladem Apollinem significasse plorantem. Deinde mox regem Aristonicum uictum et captum esse nuntiatum est, quem uinci utique Apollo nolebat et dolebat et hoc sui lapidis etiam lacrimis indicabat.

(2) Obseq. 54 (114). Cumis in arce Apollinis simulacrum sudauit. Cic. *div.* I, 43: Quid? cum Cumis Apollo sudauit.

del was ordinarily consecrated to Jupiter (1). But when an interest developed in the remains of classical antiquity after the Renaissance, common opinion located this sanctuary on the shore of Lake Avernus, where extensive ruins existed, identified later as a bathing establishment (2). Another view, expressed in the eighteenth century work of Paoli, placed it on the heights of Monte Grillo east of the city, identifying it with the ruins called Arco Felice (3). Actually the temple stood upon the eastern portion of the Acropolis, where remains of substructures and steps with fragments of columns, capitals and slabs still appear on the site; they indicate the previous existence of an edifice of generous proportions and sumptuous character, thus agreeing fully with the literary allusions of the authors already cited (4). The temple contained an unusually large cult statue, it was an impressive sight to the besieging army of Hannibal, and it is called by Vergil *aurea* and *immanis* (5). This spot was definitely identified as the site of Apollo's worship by an altar found among the ruins, which contains a dedication to the Cumean Apollo by Q. Tineius Rufus (6). A fragmentary inscription on the base of a statue, the work of Isidorus of Paros, was believed by Garrucci to belong to a similar dedication; but the small amount of the original that has been preserved does not permit the matter to be definitely determined (7).

The cult name of the god seems to have been simply Apollo Cumanus. The *Scholiasta uetus* and Tzetzes, commenting on Lycophron's phrase Ζωτηρίου κλιτύς applied to the town

(1) Serv. *Aen.* VI, 9: Cum ubique arx Ioui detur, apud Cumas in arce Apollinis templum est.

(2) De Iorio, *Guida* 99: Paoli, *Antiquitatum reliquiae* Pl. XLIII.

(3) Paoli, *op. cit.* fol. 29. Heyne comments on this and other theories about the temple's location in his edition of Vergil II, excursus III, 789.

(4) De Iorio even thought that there were two temples of Apollo, one for a Greek and another for a Roman cult of the god. The first he located on the western part of the Acropolis in connection with ruins alluded to in the preceding section (p. 49); the second he identified with the actual site. *Guida* 115. Cp. Loffredo, *Le antichità di Pozzuolo* 35.

(5) Verg. *Aen* VI, 13; 19.

(6) *C. I. L.* X, 3683, Apollini Cumano Q. Tineius Rufus.

(7) *I. G.* XIV, 861 = *C. I. G.* 5858 and add. p. 1259. ['Απόλλωνι Κυμαίῳ Δέκμος Εἶος Παχίου, 'Ισίδωρος Νουμ [...Πάριος ἐποέει. Garrucci *Bull. Inst.* 1861, 11.

of Cumae, thought that the local divinity was designated with the epithet *Zosterius*, and Bouché-Leclercq, following them, recognizes this word as a real attribute of Apollo at Cumae (1). But this title, used in Attica and perhaps elsewhere in conformity with the version of the god's birth at Cape Zoster, is not one which has any significance at Cumae; it is not, therefore, likely that the expression of the erudite Alexandrian was intended so much to be an accurate designation of the particular form of Apolline religion current here as a learned literary allusion adopted in keeping with author's notorious striving for novelty of expression.

In addition to his function, already noted, as a patron of colonization Apollo was doubtless worshipped as Paean, the healer and reconciler of physical and spiritual ills. This is rendered plausible by the fact that at Rome, where the influence of Cumae was predominant in introducing the cult, this aspect of his character was strongly marked (2). Furthermore on the neighboring island of Pithecussae (Ischia) he was particularly revered as a great physician (3). But his role as a mantic divinity gained for him his greatest celebrity; as the god of prophecy he inspired his priestess the Sibyl, whose utterances attained a more than local renown and thereby promoted the popularity of his worship.

Vergil, relating a tradition that has been traced back to Timaeus, represents Aeneas as receiving prophetic guidance from the Sibyl of Cumae, who at that early period is supposed to be associated with the cult of Apollo (4). This conception is historically correct only in the sense that there was localized in this region at a remote time a mantic shrine tended by a prophetess who delivered the oracles. Its antiquity was reflected in the popular belief which represented the Cumean Sibyl as extremely old. Although too much attention can not be given

(1) Schol. uetus ad Licoph. 1278. Ζωστήριον ἐπώνυμον Ἀπόλλωνος, φησὶν οὖν ὅτι ἐνταῦθα διῆγεν ἡ Σίβυλλα. Tzetzes, ibid.; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist de la div.* II, 185, Hild, *Sibyllae*, D.-S. IV, 1292.

(2) Preller-Jordan, I, 147; 302; Wissowa, 294; Aust, *Relig. d. Römer* 50.

(3) See p. 220.

(4) Verg. *Aen.* VI, 12: Delius inspirat uates; VI, 347; Neque te Phoebi cortina fefellit. The meeting of Aeneas and the Sibyl was often related. Cp. Wörner, *Aineias* Roscher I, 174.

to this point because in general the Sibyls were credited with length of years, yet this peculiarity belonged in a high degree to the one whose seat was in this town (1). On the other hand the prophetess did not at first receive her inspiration from Apollo, but was connected with the worship of a chthonic deity long before the arrival of the great deity of the Greeks (2). As at Delphi the worship of Apollo was superimposed upon that of an older deity, whose influence gradually faded away, so here, although it did not precisely usurp the ancient seat of prophecy, it succeeded in ousting the other cult and appropriated the priestess along with the mantic functions of the older deity (3).

The Greek cult of the Sibyl as distinguished from the old native oracle was introduced, as indicated in the preceding chapter, by the early colonists, perhaps especially by those from Cyme, and was thus ultimately derived from Erythrae and the Troad (4). Allusions to her activity in her new home are to be explained as references to the assembling of oracles, which were afterwards handed out to inquirers as her responses. The presence of these prophecies here as elsewhere was considered as the result of a wandering of the Sibyl, and her association with Apollo formed a fruitful subject for myth making (5).

(1) Buchholz, *Sibylla* Roscher IV, 796; Bouché-Leclercq *Hist. de la divin.* 186, who gives ancient references for the antiquity of the Sibyl; Rohde, *Psyche* II, 67; The general belief ascribed to the Sibyl a life of a thousand years and the expression *Cumaeae saecula vatis* attained the force of a proverb. Phlegon, *Macrobii* 4: Ps. Arist. *de mirab. auscult.* 95; Ov. *met.* XIV, 134 f.

(2) The older Roman poets and annalists who mentioned a Cimmerian Sibyl did not attempt to distinguish this from the Cumean. Cp. Lact. *inst.* I, 6, 9 (dependent on Varro); Aur. Vict. *orig.* 10; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la divin.* II, 188. Hild. *Sibyllae* D.-S. IV, 1292. Varro because of the chronological difficulty in making Aeneas associate with the Sibyl, who was reported to have bargained with King Tarquin, supposed that there were two Sibyls, - a view which must be adjudged correct so far as it stands for two periods of prophecy. Serv. *Aen.* VI, 36, 72.

(3) Gabrici, *Cuma* in *Boll. d'arte* IV (1910) 114; Buchholz, Roscher IV, 799; Wörner, *Die Sage von der Wanderung des Aeneas* 21.

(4) Haight, *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXXIX (1918) 342 f.; Schultess, *Die Sibyllinischen Bücher in Rom.* 8 f.; Blass, *Die sibyllinischen-orakel* in Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des alten Testaments* II, 178.

(5) Buchholz, Roscher IV, 794. Serv. *Aen.* VI, 321: Sibyllam Apollo pio amore dilexit et ei obtulit poscendi quod uellet arbitrium. Illa hausit harenam manibus et tam longam uitam proposuit. Cui Apollo respondit id posse fieri, si Erythraeam, in qua habitabat, insulam relinqueret et eam numquam uideret. Profecta igitur Cumas tenuit et illic defecta corporis uiribus uitam in sola uoce

On the one hand this cult tended to remain substantially the same as that at Erythrae. The seeress here bore the same name as the Oriental Sibyls, Herophile, and Timaeus recognized their identity (1). But on the other hand there was a noticeable movement toward making her independent of outside influences, and a strong local tradition had its exponents in men like the historian Hyperochus. These gave her a distinct name and sought to attach her strongly to their own locality (2). This Sibyl, however, did not attain a commanding reputation for some time, and is not mentioned in extant literature before Timaeus (3).

She gave her prophecies in a cavern, which has been identified with a grotto in the south eastern side of the Acropolis and hence adjacent to the temple on the rock above. This grotto now exibits the form of a tunnel ascending by a series of steps for a considerable distance, and is connected with a number of passages that honeycomb the cliff. This is doubtless the original of the huge cavern hollowed out of the Euboean rock with its hundred mouths, which Vergil had in mind in the composition of the Aeneid, and to which Statius alludes as the

retinuit. Quod cum ciues eius cognouissent, siue inuidia, siue misericordia commoti, ei epistulam miserunt creta antiquo more signatum; qua uisa, quia erat de eius insula, in mortem soluta est. Unde non nulli hanc esse dicunt, quae Romana fata conscripsit, quod incenso Apollinis templo inde Romam adlati sunt libri, unde haec fuerat.

(1) Ps. Arist. *de mir. ausc.* 95: Ἐν τῇ Κύμῃ τῇ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν δείκνυταί τις, ὡς ἔοικε, θάλαμος κατάγειος Σιβύλλης τῆς χρησμολόγου, ἣν πολυχρονιωτάτην γενομένην παρθένον διαμεῖναί φασιν, οὖσαν μὲν Ἐρυθραίαν, ὑπό τινων δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατοικούντων Κυμαίαν, ὑπὸ δέ τινων Μελάγκραιραν καλουμένην. Cp. Mart. Cap. II, 159.

(2) Paus. X, 12, 8. The name Herophile belonged earlier still to the Sibyl of Marpessus. Buchholz, Roscher IV, 796. The name Amathea was derived also from this source. Gruppe, 342. Other names borne by the Cumean Sibyl were Demophile, Deiphobe, and Taraxandra. Verg. *Aen.* VI 36; Lact. *Inst.* I, 6; Scholiast on Plat. *Phaedrus* 244B; Ps. Arist. *de mir. ausc.* 95. Cp. Haight, *Am. Jour Phil.* XXXIX (1918) 343; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la divin.* II, 184-186; Buchholz, Roscher IV, 800; Hoffmann, *Rh. Mus.* L (1895) 90; Maass, *de Sibyllarum indicibus* 33. Maass discusses the combination of seeresses which went to make up the Vergilian Deiphobe. *Commentatio mythografa* in *Index scholarum* Gryphiswald 1886-7 part 3. (Known to me only through the summary contained in Bursian's *Jahresbericht* LXVI (1891) 247).

(3) Preller-Robert, 282; Hild *Sibyllae* D.-S. IV, 1292.

opaca Sibyllae antra (1). Within the cavern was the μαντεῖον, where the seeress was constrained to submit to the powerful will of Apollo, and so became inspired with a prophetic frenzy (2).

Her responses were not so much predictions referring to the future as directions for meeting present emergencies (3). According to tradition they were given in olden times in the form of lots written upon palm leaves; such was the testimony of Varro, whom Vergil probably followed in his account of the oracle. Whether this account is pure fiction or whether at some time this expedient was devised in order to make the oracles seem old and venerable is uncertain, but the latter alternative is probable. Diels suspects that Vergil actually saw such oracles as the basis for his account (4). When not mere stereotyped marks, they were written regularly in poetical form and in the Greek tongue; the circumstance that the meter was often imperfect was explained by the supposition that the attending priests who copied the oracles were not always persons of much education (5). In historical times no set of oracles pur-

(1) Verg. *Aen.* VI, 42-44:

> Excisum Euboicae latus ingens rupis in antrum,
> quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum,
> unde ruunt totidem uoces, responsa Sibyllae.

Stat. *silv.* V, 3, 172:

> Sic ad Auernales scopulos et opaca Sibyllae
> antra rogaturae ueniebant undique gentes.

Cp. Ov. *met.* XIV, 104; Stat. *silv.* III, 5, IV, 97; IV, 3, 24; Sol. 2, 17; Schultess, *Die sib. Bücher in Rom* 7; Cocchia, *La geografia nelle metamorfosi d'Ovidio e l'Averno vergiliana* in *Atti Nap.* XVIII (1896-7) part. 1; No. 7, 35, = Saggi philologici, III, 16; Hild, D.-S. IV, 1293.

(2) For references to the inspiration of the Sibyl in general see Rohde, *Psyche* II , 68 .

(3) Plin. *nat.* XI, 105; Hoffmann, *Die tarquinischen Sibyllen-Bücher* in *Rh. Mus.* L (1895) 92.

(4) Serv. *Aen.* III, 444. Cp. also *ibid.* VI, 74, Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter* 56; Buchholz, Roscher IV, 800.

(5) Pseudo-Justin (Apollinaris) *Cohort. ad Graecos* XXXVII: ἔφασκον καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι οἱ ἐκλαμβάνοντες τοὺς χρησμοὺς τηνικαῦτα ἐκτὸς παιδεύσεως ὄντες πολλαχοῦ τῆς τῶν μέτρων ἀκριβείας διήμαρτον, καὶ ταύτην ἔλεγον αἰτίαν εἶναι τῆς ἐνίων ἐπῶν ἀμετρίας, τῆς μὲν χρησμῳδοῦ διὰ τὸ πεπαῦσθαι τῆς κατοχῆς καὶ ἐπιπνοίας μὴ μεμνημένης τῶν ἐρρημένων, τῶν δὲ ὑπογραφέων δι' ἀπαιδευσίαν τῆς τῶν μέτρων ἀκριβείας ἐκπεπτωκότων. Hoffmann, *Rh. Mus.* (1895) 109; Buchholz, Roscher IV 804.

porting to come from the local Sibyl was in circulation. This seemed to observers a strange state of affairs, for as Varro affirms, collections of all the other Sibyls of renown were accessible (1).

When the oracle became silent is unknown (2). Its fame continued in later times, and the Sibyl's abode was pointed out to visitors as the chief object of interest in the declining town. In the temple of Apollo a vessel of bronze was exibited, or according to another account a stone urn, in which the remains of the Sibyl were supposed to be preserved (3). Likewise a perverted version of the affair, due to a belief in her extreme age, got into circulation in some quarters, and it was fancied that she herself was confined in a jar. Thus one of the characters of Petronius declared that he had himself seen her in this condition longing to die (4).

In the fourth century A. D., when the so-called Sibylline oracles had been accepted by the church, and were therefore of interest to all classes, a Christian writer, who has been identified as Apollinarius of Laodicea, composed a description of the seat of the oracle, based ostensibly on actual observation. Though it had long ceased its activity, local guides described with pride its ancient glories as they had received the account

(1) Lact. *inst.* I, 6, 13: Harum omnium Sibyllarum carmina et feruntur et habentur praeterquam Cymaeae. Paus. X, 12, 8: τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ χρησμοὺς κατὰ ταὐτὰ εἰποῦσαν ἐκ Κύμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικοῖς εἶναι, καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν Δημὼ συνέγραψεν Ὑπέροχος ἀνὴρ Κυμαῖος. χρησμὸν δὲ οἱ Κυμαῖοι τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ἐς οὐδένα εἶχον ἐπιδείξασθαι, λίθου δὲ ὑδρίαν ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ δεικνύουσιν οὐ μεγάλην, τῆς Σιβύλλης ἐνταῦθα κεῖσθαι φάμενοι τὰ ὀστᾶ. Schwegler, *Rom. Gesch*, I, 802.

(2) It seems to have ceased operations before the time of Pausanias in the second century A. D. Paus. *loc. cit.*; Buchholz, Roscher IV, 800.

(3) Pseudo-Justin, *loc. cit.*

(4) Petron. 48: Nam Sibyllam quidem ego ipse oculis meis uidi in ampulla pendens, et cum illi pueri dicerent, Σιβύλλα, τί θέλεις, respondebat illa: ἀποθανεῖν θέλω. Cp. Ampel, *Liber memorialis* VIII, 16; *Fraser, Paus,* V. 292; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 184; Blass, *Die sibyl. orakel* in Kautzsch, *Die Apok u. Pseudepigr. d. alt. Test.* II, 178. Another tradition represented the Sibyl's grave as in Sicily. Sol. 2, 17; 5, 7. Cp. Sciava, *La morte della Sibilla* in *Atene e Roma* XX (1917) 38 f.

from their fathers (1). It is noteworthy that the grotto of the Sibyl was no longer pointed out as her abode, but instead she was assigned to a βασιλικὴ μεγίστη, probably the temple of Apollo himself or some adjunct to it (2). This illustrates a tendency of the prophetess to become more and more closely associated with Apollo. The original exponent of prophecy in this locality had been free from his influence. But with the advent of the Apollo cult the Sibyl moved to the cave at the foot of the rock upon which his temple stood; later, when the oracle was closed and what purported to be her remains was preserved in that sanctuary, it came about in the course of time that the same place was considered to be the seat of her oracle. Details of the building and furniture such as the bath and official chair were exibited to Apollinarius as serving the needs of the prophetess (3).

The last description of the cave was made by Agathias, the Byzantine historian, in the sixth century, while he was describing the campaign of Narses against the Goths in south Italy. Cumae by means of its citadel held out against the armies of Justinian, and in the year 552 Narses tried to effect an entrance by digging from the Sibyl's grotto to the rock above, an undertaking which failed to effect its purpose (4).

It is not impossible that the female head which appears regularly upon the money of Cumae was intended to represent the Sibyl. It was not the Siren Parthenope, who had no cult here, but it may have been a likeness of a Tyche divinity (5).

(1) Maass, *De Sibyllarum indicibus* 11, saw in this account a contradiction of the statements of Varro and Pausanias about the lack of oracles in circulation from the Cumean Sibyl. But as pointed out by Diels, *Sibyl. Blät.* 57, the informants of Pseudo-Justin were only repeating tradition delivered by their ancestors rather than making reference to their own times. A commentary on the passage of Pseudo-Justin is given by A. Chiappelli, *L'antro della Sibilla a Cuma* in *Atti della r. accad. di scienze morali e polit. di Napoli.* XXXI (1900) 557. Cp. Hild, D. S. IV, 1293.

(2) Pseudo-Justin, *loc. cit.* Cp. Buchholz, Roscher IV, 801.

(3) Pseudo-Justin, *loc. cit.*

(4) Agathias, *Historiae* I, 10; Cocchia, *Atti Nap.* XVIII (1896) part 1, No. 7, 37.

(5) Head, *Hist. num.* 37 ; Poole, *Cat. Gr. Coins in Brit. Mus.* 87: Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines,* part. 2, 1, 1438. See p. 73.

In connection with the worship of Apollo must be mentioned the association of *Apollinares* about whom little is known. Occuring at several other Italian towns, they are mentioned most frequently in inscriptions from Mutina, where apparently they took the place of the *seuiri Augustales*. Whether they were connected at Cumae with the worship of the Emperors remains undetermined, as the only evidence for their presence is a brief dedication by C. Pomponius Zoticus, which was inscribed upon a vase (1).

Gruppe suggests the possibility of the existence of a cult of the Muses, which, if it really was present, was probably closely associated with the worship of Apollo; the evidence at hand, however, does not permit the fact to be definitely established (2). Just as the Thespiadai, the sons of Hercules and of the daughters of Thespius, were reported to have established at Croton the cult of the Muses, so the circumstance that they are said to have come also to Cumae lends weight to the supposition that they introduced the same cult here (3). Furthermore, since the Cumeans were apparently hostile to the worship of the Sirens and changed to Neapolis the name of the town Parthenope, which they had conquered, it is natural to infer that they were devoted to the rivals of these creatures (4).

ARTEMIS

A cult of Artemis is rendered practically certain by the fact that she was a leading divinity of Euboea and of the cities Chalcis and Eretria whose ideas in religion affected so largely the early colony at Cumae. Likewise in the latter's colony

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 3684 = V, 2143: C. Pomponius Zoticus collegio Apollinario d. d. A list of the appearances of this collegium is found in Ruggiero I, 514, Cp. Aust. *Apollinares* P. - W. I, 2842; Walzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionelles chez les Romains* I, 38.

(2) Gruppe, *Berl. Phil. Wochens.* XXI (1911) 1000-1001.

(3) Diod. V, 15. For the cult at Croton see Iamblichus, *de uita Pythagorica* 45, 50, 264. According to Geffcken, *Timaios' Geographie des Westens* 81, the assignment of a cult of the Muses to Croton may be erroneous.

(4) For the rivalry between Muses and Sirens see Bie, *Musen*, Roscher II, 3242; De Petra, *Le Sirene del mar tirreno* in *Atti Nap.* XXV (1908) 12. There is no reason for thinking with Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum* I, 111, that the head of the nymph on coins of Cumae represents Parthenope.

Neapolis Artemis was used as a device upon a series of bronze coins (1). It should be noted, however, that these do not belong to the earliest period of the city and do not necessarily show Cumean influence. At this point the references to Trivia in the Aeneid come to mind and suggest themselves as clear evidence for the presence of an Artemis cult. So Roscher, replying to the declaration of Boll that there is a total lack of evidence for this goddess, cited these passages (2). The Sibyl is called by the poet the priestess of Apollo and Trivia, a term which forms one of the well known names for Diana and it is not improbable that this goddess received honors in the temple of her brother as at Pompeii (3). Hence the poet without too great a stress on literal accuracy might well speak of the Sibyl as devoted to the service of both divinities. But it is more likely that the goddess mentioned here should be identified with the primitive deity of Lake Avernus alluded to above, whom the Sibyl served in ancient times. As a goddess of the dead she was identified by the Greeks with Persephone and had likewise a great similarity to Trivia-Hecate-Diana for whom she could be substituted without undue effort (4). The substitution was the more natural in this case, because in myth and elsewhere in worship, Artemis was associated with her brother. Vergil was also influenced by the worship of the two deities at Rome and his desire appropriately to allude to the construction of their temple by Augustus a little farther along in the poem, where Servius accuses him of confounding history (5). That we are not dealing with a regular Artemis cult so much as with that of the primitive chthonic goddess appears in the words of Aeneas directed to the Sibyl (6), that Hecate had placed her with

(1) Von Duhn, *Der Dioskurentempel in Neapel* 14, See p. 202.

(2) F. Boll, *Marica* in *Archiv für Religionswiss.* XIII (1910) 572; Roscher, *Der Artemiskult von Cumae* in *Philologus* XXV (1912) 308.

(3) *Aen.* VI 35: Phoebi Triuiaeque sacerdos. See p. 229.

(4) For Vergil's relation to the blending of Hecate and Artemis see Steuding, *Hekate* Roscher I, 1896; cp. 1895.

(5) Verg. *Aen.* VI 69:

> Tum Phoebo et Triuiae solido de marmore templum
> instituam festosque dies de nomine Phoebi.

Cp. the comment of Servius on these lines.

(6) Verg. *Aen.* VI 118.

good reason in charge of the groves of Avernus. Here Hecate is a convenient term to adopt for this ancient deity, who is invoked at the beginning of the descent (1). She is not essentially different from the Proserpina mentioned a few lines later, though the poet with his characteristic fullness of detail and tendency toward repetition has assigned to each a separate sacrifice. In regard to the mention of the grove of Trivia at the beginning of the book, he seems to have joined arbitrarily the temple on the Acropolis and the grove at Avernus, transferring the chthonic deity for the moment to the woods which perhaps surrounded Apollo's temple (2).

The poetical and obviously inexact account of Aeneas's adventures does not prove the existence of a cult of Artemis here; at the same time the poet would have hesitated to assume such a form of religion, if it were altogether unknown. Its presence is indeed directly affirmed in a marginal note discovered by Boll in manuscripts of Augustine's *De Ciuitate Dei* (3). The substance of the comment is the arrival at Minturnae of a cult statue of Diana stolen from Cumae, which the people retained and called Marica (4). This somewhat fanciful legend doubtless indicates that the goddess Marica was an imported deity related to Diana, and thus demonstrates that at Cumae there really existed a cult statue and temple of the latter, in short a complete apparatus for her worship. It only remains to consider whether the scholion is worthy of credence, and on this point the answer has been affirmative, as there is no reason for doubting it comes from an ancient source (5).

(1) Verg. *Aen.* VI, 247: Voce uocans Hecaten caeloque Ereboque potentem. Serv. *Aen.* IV, 511: Quidam Hekaten dictam esse tradunt quod eadem et Diana sit et Proserpina. Heckenbach, *Hekate* P.-W. VII, 2773.

(2) The topographical indications at the beginning of the sixth book are confused and the movements of Aeneas impossible in the strict order of the text. Cp. Cocchia, *L'Averno virgiliano* in *Atti Nap.* XVIII (1896-7) part 1, No. 7, 35 f.; *Saggi Filologici* III, 251 f.

(3) Maricam deam Dianam dicit. Minturnenses enim Cumanis subreptum sigillum Dianae sibique datum, quoniam mari uenerat, Maricam uocauerunt Dianam, sicut etiam eadem uocitatur Fascilina eo quod intra ligni fascem sit occultata, Boll. *Marica* in *Archiv. für Religionsw.* XIII (1910) 567-577.

(4) This account should be compared with that of Orestes and the Diana image at Lake Nemi. Cp. R. Peter, *Marica* Roscher II, 2373.

(5) Traube thought that it was derived from Festus; Wissowa, from a Vergilian commentary. Boll, *Archiv. f. Religionsw.* XIII (1910) p. 576.

DEMETER

Another ancient cult of great importance was that of Demeter, one of the so called *dii patrii*, who came to Italy with the Chalcidians. One of the traditions of the settlement affirmed that the colonists had been miraculously guided at night by the sound of clashing bronze such as was heard in the ritual of this goddess (1). She was accordingly worshipped in this district by the celebration of mysteries, but as a mystery deity was less important than Dionysus. Probably the two cults flourished side by side on intimate terms with each other and were maintained in large part by the same body of interested worshippers (2). From its seat in the vicinity of the Cumean rock the worship was planted at Neapolis, and extended into the interior of the peninsula as well as north and south along the coast. The cult seems to have had a close relation with that of Apollo, for the specific name of his seeress was Demophile and the history of both the oracles and the Demeter worship, when transplanted to Rome, shows an intimate association between them (3). Cora-Proserpina, who must have had a place in the mysteries, was located more particularly around Lake Avernus.

The goddess presumably bore here as at Neapolis the title of Thesmophoros. Her priesthood, carried on by women, was considered at least in the early times as the highest honor that could be attained. This estimation is proved both by the respect in which the office was held elsewhere in Campania and by a story related by Plutarch. Xenocrite, a concubine of the tyrant Aristodemus, was largely instrumental in arousing the members of the aristocracy to effect his overthrow. As a result, after the city came into their power, they offered her presents and honors

(1) Vell. I, 4, 1: Huius classis cursum esse directum alii columbae antecedentis uolatu ferunt, alii nocturno aeris sono qualis Cerealibus sacris cieri solet.

Stat. *silv.* IV, 8, 50.

Tuque, Actaea Ceres, cursu cui semper anhelo
uotiuam taciti quassamus lampada mystae.

(2) F. Lenormant, *Ceres* D. S. I, 1032; Comparetti, *Iscrizione arcaica cumana* in *Ausonia* I (1906) 18.

(3) Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter* 53; Soll, *Demo* Roscher I, 986; Jessen, *Demo* P.-W. IV, 2862; Maass, *Mythische Kurznamen* in *Hermes* XXIII (1888) 614; Suidas, Δημώ.

of many kinds, but she rejected all except the privilege of serving Demeter as priestess (1).

The site of the temple was probably discovered during the course of excavation begun in 1852 among the remains of the so - called *Tempio dei Giganti*, where a temple of Jupiter has sometimes been located (2). It thus stood in the valley east of the Acropolis and outside the walls, corresponding to the principle enunciated by Vitruvius for the location of shrines of this cult (3). Among the remains appeared bits of marble, which contained fragments of inscriptions mentioning the Luccei, a family named elsewhere on account of a restoration of Demeter's temple. The most complete reference to their work states that Cn. Lucceius pater and Cn. Lucceius filius, while filling the office of praetor, restored the worship of Demeter and that the two married daughters of the elder Lucceius, Polla and Tertulla, replaced the building along with its portico and other appurtenances. In other words the magistrates used their official position formally to renew the cult after the women had supplied the material assistance (4). A fragment, which seems to allude to the construction of a fountain under the same circumstances, probably has reference to this shrine, and four others make mention of benefactions on the part of Polla and Tertulla (5). Although the first of these inscriptions is reported to have been found at Puteoli and the origin of the second has

(1) Plut. *Mulierum virtutes* 262 D: τιμῶν δὲ καὶ δωρεῶν μεγάλων τῇ Ξενοκρίτῃ προτεινομένων ἐάσασα πάσας ἓν ἠτήσατο, θάψαι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ 'Αριστοδήμου. καὶ τοῦτ' οὖν ἔδοσαν αὐτῇ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱέρειαν αὐτὴν εἵλοντο, οὐχ ἧττον οἰόμενοι τῇ θεῷ κεχαρισμένην ἢ πρέπουσαν ἐκείνῃ τιμὴν ἔσεσθαι.

(2) Comparetti, *Ausonia* I (1906) 18; Beloch, 165-166; Gabrici, *Cuma* in *Mon. ant.* XXII (1913) 17.

(3) The excavations are discussed in *Bull. Nap.* n. s. I (1853) 105 etc. Cp. Vitruv. I, 7.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 3685 = D. 4040 = V. 1034: Cn. Cn. Luccei... pate]r et filium pr(aetores) sacra Deme[tros res]tituerunt. Lucceia Cn. f. Polla Qui.... [et Luc]ceia Cn. f. Tertulla P[a Galli aedem Demetros et quae circa [eam aedem su]nt et porticus p. s. restituerunt.

Gervasio, *Intorno alla iscrizione puteolana de' Luccei* in *Memorie della r. Accad. ercol.* VII (1851) 233-265. Incorrectly attributed to Puteoli by Pestalozza e Chiesa, Ruggiero II, 209. Cp. Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* 134 .

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 3686, Cp. Gervasio, *op. cit.* 237; *C. I. L.* X, 3687, 3688, 3689, 3690.

not been traced, yet all appear to belong to Cumae, where individuals by the name of Cn. Lucceius are known from other sources to have held the office of praetor, a magistracy well attested in this town (1). One of this name is mentioned in an inscription, which probably belongs to the year 7 A. D.; this establishes the approximate time of the restoration of Demeter's sanctuary (2).

CASTOR AND POLLUX

To the same series of ancient cults represented by Apollo and Demeter belongs that of the Dioscuri, who were doubtless honored here to the same degree as in the colony of Neapolis (3). Though no direct information has reached us of their functions, yet it is probable that they were regarded particularly as the patrons of those citizens who formed the cavalry contingent and as the protectors of sailors. At least the first phase of their activity seems to have been general in southern Italy from where it finally reached Rome, and the maritime cult of these deities as practiced at Rome and Ostia was probably derived from Cumae (4). The ruins of a temple on the western part of the Acropolis, which have been mentioned in connection with Zeus, possibly belonged to the shrine of Castor and Pollux; otherwise the location of their temple is wholly unknown (5).

HERA

Hera's worship is attested by an oracle preserved in the writings of Phlegon of Tralles, which Diels prounced a genu-

(1) Cp. *C. I. L.* X, 3697 and Mommsen's annotations here and to No. 1795; *C. I. L.* X, 3698 (quoted on p. 88); D. 4040 and notes; Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. I (1853) 106.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 3697.

(3) Stat. *silv.* IV, 8, 52:

Et uos, Tyndaridae quos non horrenda Lycurgi
Taygeta umbrosaeque magis coluere Therapnae.

(4) Albert, *Le Culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie* 57; Vaglieri, *Castores*, Ruggiero II, 132; Furtwängler, *Dioskuren*, *Roscher* I, 1163; Bethe, *Dioskuren* P.-W. V. 1091, 1096.

(5) Beloch 161.

ine survival from the treasured Sybilline collection of the Romans (1). This alludes to the arrival of Greek colonists on the Italian peninsula at Cumae from their earlier settlement upon the adjacent islands, and contains the injunction that the colonists shall provide an image and a temple for the worship of Hera, « the august Queen » (2). Although the oracle belongs to the year 125 B. C. and has especial reference to Rome, the mention of the Cumean ritual served to confer upon it a mark of authenticity. The cult at Cumae was manifestly very old, and was an offshoot of the strong one flourishing in Boeotia and Euboea; there is a possibility for its arrival also from some locality, such as Cyme, which gave the Sibyl to Italy (3). It was likewise important at Rome in the form of a devotion to Juno Regina, where it was introduced or at least strengthened by the influence of the Sibylline books coming from Cumae (4). Juno Regina at Rome was closely allied with Apollo, as is proved by the expiatory procession of the year 207 B. C. recorded by Livy, and it is probable that here too she was on friendly terms with him and perhaps shared somewhat in his mantic qualities (5).

A reference to this aspect of the goddess has been seen in an ancient inscription upon a bronze disk, the reading and interpretation of which have caused much difficulty. This inscription, which is admitted by nearly all scholars to be genuine, shows archaic letter forms and style of writing and is assigned to the sixth century B. C. Although its provenience can not be exactly determined, it is supposed to have been found during clandestine excavations in the Cumean necropolis. The published readings differ widely from one another in the significance

(1) Diels I f.; Blass, *Die sibyllinischenorakel* in Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des alten Testaments* II, 178.

(2) Phlegon, *Mirabilia* X = Westermann, *Paradoxographi Graeci* 135, I. 18 = Diels 114. Cp. *ibid.* 98.

(3) Diels 52 note 1.

(4) Reitzenstein, *Ined. poet. Gr. frag.* in *Index lectionum Rostock* second series 1891-2, 11, 24; Gruppe 367 . Maiur', *Un disco oracolare cumano* in *Ausonia* VI (1911) 9.

(5) Liv. XXVII, 37, 9.

which they attach to the disk (1). According to the most plausible interpretation we have here a religious document dealing with divination, the sense of which is, « Hera does not permit the giving of oracles in the morning (?) » (2) This then would be the response given at an oracular shrine to some inquirer to whom those in charge for some reason did not wish to return a definite answer. If the interpretation given by Maiuri is based upon the correct reading of the text, this is the oldest document relating to Greek divination, and an early testimony of prophetic activity at Cumae (3). Nothing else is known about Hera as a mantic divinity here, but this aspect of her character is not wholly unknown in other places, and in such a locality as this, which was essentially an oracular center, it would not be strange if another deity should assume the functions of prophecy in connection either with the Apollo cult or with that of the oracle of the dead at Avernus (4). Maiuri suspects a worship of Hera at the latter spot, but the supposition lacks evidence to support it (5). The connection of Hera with divination in general is shown by the name Herophile applied to the Sibyl of Erythrae and sometimes to the seeress of Cumae (6). In conclusion we can say that if there is as yet no certain evidence that Hera was regarded here as a goddess of prophecy, yet such a supposition is quite free from improbability.

The area of a temple excavated by Prince Emilio de Sayn-Wittgenstein about 1859 has been conjectured to be the site of Hera's shrine. A deposit of broken pottery near the remains of a Greek wall appears to have been a *favissa*. Among the

(1) Sogliano, *Di una iscrizione greca arcaica in un disco eneo in Atti Nap.* n. s. I (1910) 103; Oliverio (who contests its authenticity) *Un'epigrafe arcaica?* in *Atene e Roma* XIII (1910) 148; Haussoullier, *Disques funéraires grecs* in *Rev. de phil.* XXXIV (1910) 134; Comparetti, *Iscrizione greca arcaica di un dischetto di bronzo* in *Symbolae litterariae in honorem Iulii De Petra* I; Maiuri, *Arcana cumana* in *Ausonia* VI (1911) 1.

(2) Halbherr reads (Maiuri, *loc. cit.*) Ἥρη οὐκ ἐᾷ ἠρι μαντεύεσθαι.

(3) Maiuri, *Ausonia* VI (1911) 11.

(4) A mantic shrine of Hera Akraia was located near Corinth. Strab. 380; Xen. *Hell.* IV, 5, 5; Liv. XXXII, 23; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la divin.* II, 395; E. Curtius, *Peloponnesus* II, 553; Eitrem, *Hera*, P.-W. VIII, 372.

(5) Maiuri, *Ausonia* VI (1911) 10.

(6) Diels 52; Sittig, *Herophile*, P.-W, VIII, 1103.

fragments of pottery found here was one assigned by Minervini to a sacred vase, which appears to have contained the mention of Hera's name (1).

HERACLES

Myths of Heracles, which probably reached Cumae from Croton through the medium of the Rhodian settlers at Neapolis, were localized in the district of the warm springs adjacent to the city (2). The Phlegraean Fields, of evident volcanic origin, formed the scene of his combat with the Giants. The name Boaulia, current in connection with the neighboring village of Bauli, was associated by the etymologists with the sojourn of the great hero in these parts and the tarrying of his cattle. Near here too he received credit for the construction of a dam in the form of the narrow strip of land separating Lake Lucrinus and Lake Avernus from the sea (3).

No actual traces of worship remain, but since his cult at Rome was promoted by the Sibylline oracles, we are justified in concluding that it was of some importance also in the place whence these were derived. Jordan maintains that he was revered particularly under the aspect of ἀλεξίκακος, — a god who protects his devotees and wards off evil (4). Unquestionably this was a center of Heracles influence (5) De Iorio asserts that most of the writers preceding him claimed that a Hercules temple had stood at Bacoli, and Mazzella affirmed

(1) τῆς Ἥρη[ς ἱερὸς ἐμί. Minervini, *Notizia di alcuni monumenti cumani* in *Bull. Nap.* n. s. VIII (1860) 25; Gabrici, *Cuma* in *Mon. ant.* XXII, 43 . No account giving the location of these ruins seems to have been preserved.

(2) Gruppe, *Berl. Phil. Wochens.* XXXI (1911) 1005 and *Gr. Myth.* 367. See pp. 15, 100.

(3) Dion. Hal. I, 44; Diod. IV, 21, 5: ὁ δ' οὖν Ἡρακλῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιβέρεως ἀναζεύξας, κατήντησεν εἰς τὸ Κυμαῖον πεδίον. IV, 22, 1: ὁ δ' Ἡρακλῆς ἐκ τοῦ Φλεγραίου πεδίου κατελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν κατεσκεύασεν ἔργα περὶ τὴν Ἄορνον ὀνομαζομένην λίμνην.

Cp. Sil. XII, 156; Diod. V, 71, 4-5; Serv. *Aen.* VII, 662: Postea iuxta Baias caulam bubus fecit et eam saepsit; qui locus Boaulia dictus est, nam hodie Bauli uocatur. Symm. *epist.* I, 1; Prop. III, 18, 4; Geffcken, *Timaios' Geographie des Westens.*

(4) Preller-Jordan II, 280.

(5) Cesano, *Hercules,* Ruggiero III, 684; *Preller-Jordan,* I, 18.

that he had seen remains indicating a Doric building. The latter, however, neglected to describe clearly its situation, and his notice is probably worthless (1).

DIONYSUS

The famous mysteries celebrated in honor of Dionysus are referred to in an archaic Greek epitaph found near Cumae and assigned to the fifth century B. C. It proves the existence of a special cemetery, where only initiates could be interred, and is by far the earliest testimony for such a burying ground possessed by any corporation or religious society (2). Comparetti calls attention to the probability that burial here was not a necessary requirement of the worshippers of Dionysus, but was rather designed to meet the needs of the humbler folk, who were not provided with family tombs and hence were exposed to the danger of having their bodies mingled with the profane (3). The word expressing the notion of initiation τὸν βεβαχχευμένον recalls the expression τὰ βακχεύματα used by Clement of Alexandria for the ceremony as well as the employment of βακχεύτωρ for the god (4). It seems to have all the force of βεβαπτισμένον in Christian thought. This idea of separation for the elect and its consequent indication of a strong feeling for ceremonial purity points decisively toward the presence of Orphic influence among the devotees of Cumae, — a force which was undoubtedly prevalent in the fifth century B. C. (5). The worshippers of the god were probably united thus early in a *thiasus* for purposes of worship and mutual assistance.

In contrast to other localities in Campania Cumae made a very sparing use upon pottery of features connected with the

(1) De Iorio, *Guida di Pozzuoli*, 144: Mazzella, *Antichità di Pozzuolo*, 140.

(2) First published by Sogliano in *N. S.* 1905, 377; later with improved reading and interpretation (οὐ θέμις ἐντοῦθα κεῖσθαι εἰ μὴ τὸν βεβαχχευμένον) by Comparetti, *Ausonia* I (1906) 13 f.; Haussoullier, *Rev. de phil.* XXX (1906) 141; Gabrici, Mon. *ant.* XXI, 574. Cp. *Rev. de l'hist des religions LIII* (1906) 424.

(3) Comparetti, *Ausonia* I (1906) 17.

(4) Clem. Al. *Cohortatio ad gentes* XII = Migne, *Patrol. gr.* VIII 241, 9; *C. I. G.* 38; *Anthologia Palatina* IX, 524, 3.

(5) Comparetti, *Ausonia* I (1906) 19. Cp. the Orphic tablets of Sybaris and Petelia belonging to a later epoch.

myths or cult of Dionysus, but instead preferred subjects connected directly with the tomb. Thus Cumae is the only city where *heroa* form the subject of vase paintings. The examples of the Dionysiac myths which are occasionally found at a comparatively late period are due to the influence of Paestum (1).

The cult is mentioned in one inscription which refers to a priest of Liber (2). A second inscription, once cited to prove the presence of this god has been adjudged spurious by Mommsen and Kaibel (3). The possible worship of Dionysus by one of the phratries has already been noted.

DEITIES OF MINOR IMPORTANCE IN THIS LOCALITY.

Under this heading are collected several divinities, who in some cases may have had considerable importance in the community but who have left us few traces of their influence. To this class belongs Athena, whose presence is attested only by her appearance upon coins of the fifth century B. C., upon the reverse of which is found the likeness of a crab and a mussel (4). When the legend appears in connection with Athena, it should be considered rather as the mere name of the town than as a reference to her as its tutelary divinity (5).

No traces of Aphrodite worship have survived from Cumae itself. Reitzenstein, however, calls attention to the possibility of a cult of this goddess under the form Apostrophia or one who averts destructive passion. He thinks that the well known Boeotian cult centering at Thebes was introduced into Italy at this point, whence the goddess passed to Rome through Sibylline influence under the title of Venus Verticordia (6).

(1) Patroni, *La ceramica antica nell'Italia meridionale* in *Atti Nap.* XIX (1897-8) 85.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 3705..... Verrius M. f..... ontanus Liberi sacerdos.

(3) The genuine inscription with this reading belongs to Rome, *I. G.* XIV 975.

(4) Examples of this money in A. Sambon pp. 165-170; Garrucci Pl. LXXXIII; Head 36. Cp. Dressel, *Beschr. d. ant. Münzen* p. 93; Poole, *Cat. Gr. Coins, Italy,* 86.

(5) Weber, *On Some Unpublished or Rare Greek Coins* in *Num. Chron.* XVI (1896) 2.

(6) Reitzenstein, *Ined. poet. Gr. frag.* 11, 24, Cp. Farnell II, 665; Preller-Jordan II, 446, Dümmler, *'Aphrodite,* P.-W. I, 2731; Gruppe, 207, 367 Note 1.

The same scholar believed in the presence of a cult of Ares derived from Tritaea in Achaia, a town which sent settlers to Cumae (1). There is nothing improbable in the assumption that these people introduced this god, yet there is no proof of it. The connection of Mars with the Romulus legend is not necessarily due, as Reitzenstein suggested, to Cumean influences centering around this cult. It is true that the legend at Tritaea, which represents Melanippus as the son of Ares and a priestess of Athena offers a close parallel to that concerned with the birth of Romulus according to the most common version (2). But this form of the myth is probably due to literary invention, and the inventor had many examples to choose from where heroes sprang from the union of a god and a maiden. Mars naturally became the father in this case because of his prominence at Rome (3). There is thus no evidence for locating at Cumae a cult of Ares.

It has been assumed with considerable probability, as stated in the preceding chapter, that the Romans derived their Mercury cult from this place. Unfortunately no remains have been found which give any proof of its existence (4). An inscription preserved near Baiae at the *piscina mirabilis* contains a Latin dedication to Mercury; though included by Mommsen among the inscriptions of Puteoli, it may equally well be assigned to Cumae (5).

The worship of the Nymphs is attested by one inscription, a dedication inscribed upon a bronze *patera,* which records a vow made by one Zoilus, a son of Agathon (6). The head of the nymph on coins, as stated above, has been sometimes identified either as the Sibyl or as Parthenope. The former

(1) Reitzenstein 10; Grupe 506; Paus. VII, 22, 8.

(2) Stoll. *Ares,* Roscher I, 485 and *Melanippos* 1), Roscher II, 2577.

(3) Pais, *Stor. crit. I,* 289 gives a list of such cases. Cp. Trieber, *Die Romulussage in Rh. Mus.* XLIII (1888) 570; Rosenberg, *Rea Silvia,* P. W. second series I, 342 and Romulus *ibid.* 1085, who thinks of the myth of Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus.

(4) Preller-Jordan I, 18. Early antiquarians sometimes indentified a ruin near Lake Avernus as a temple of Mercury. Loffredo, *Le antichità di Pozzuolo* 29. See p. 27.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 1590.

(6) *I. G.* XVI, 860: Ζώιλος Ἀγάθωνος Νύμφαις εὐχήν.

supposition is possible but the latter has nothing in its favor. Eckhel cited the passage of Lycophron about the reception of the Siren by the dwellers on the banks of the River Clanius as an evidence that she was held in regard at Cumae (1). But this passage is a reference rather to Neapolis. The poet is seeking to express his idea by circumlocution instead of by direct statement of fact, and can not be depended upon for accuracy. Likewise the assertion that the Cumeans took up the worship of Parthenope, is applicable only to those who went to Neapolis and were engaged in the restoration of that town, taking part thereby in a form of worship which had hitherto been foreign to them (2). More likely the nymph in question represents a personification of the city viewed as a Tyche divinity or similar tutelary goddess such as probably appears on the money of Terina (3). The legend Cyme upon some of the figures gives a name to this vaguely conceived personality, who would play somewhat the same role of protecting influence which Parthenope manifested at Neapolis.

A cult of Hephaestus is assigned to this place by Rapp on extremely meager evidence, which is confined to the representation of the god with other deities upon a piece of sculpture offered to the protecting divinities of a Neapolitan phratry (4). Since it is not very probable that he was recognized there as a phratry god, we can by no means draw the inference that he was worshipped in the mother city.

Among the heroes who received recognition was Daedalus, whose relics as stated above, were preserved in the temple of Apollo. The legend points to Cretan influence, which is uncommon in Italy (5). Other cults such as that of Orestes at Aricia near Lake Nemi and that of Evander at Rome have sometimes been traced back to Cumae, but without real evidence (6).

(1) These coins are shown in A. Sambon 152 Nos. 252 f. Cp. 142; Eckhel. *Doctrina numorum veterum* I, 111, 113; Garucci 80; Lyc *Alex.* 717.

(2) Serv. *georg.* IV, 563, = Lutat. Daphnis, book IV in Peter, *Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 126.

(3) Poole, *Cat. Brit. Mus. Italy* 87; Dressel, *Beschr. d. ant. Münzen* III, 89; K. Regling. *Terina* 62; Babelon, *monn. grec. et rom.* part 2, I, 1437.

(4) Rapp, *Hephaistos*, Roscher I, 2074.

(5) Gruppe 360; Pais, *Stor. d. Sic.* I, 163. See p. 50.

(6) Reitzenstein, *Ined. poet. Gr. frag.* 10; Preller-Jordan I, 18; II 341.

The mussel which forms a distinctive emblem on Cumean coins has been explained by Gabrici as due to the influence of ancient religious ideas. He regards it as connected with some marine deity who was venerated especially by the seafaring people of this coast (1). It is more naturally explained, however, as an allusion to an abundant local product and is probably not affected by religion (2).

CULT OF LAKE AVERNUS.

In the account of the Sibyl who served as the spokesman of Apollo it was suggested that this type of prophetess was not a novelty introduced by the Greeks, but rather was adapted to their cult from the seeress associated with Lake Avernus. It now becomes necessary to examine more in detail the religious ideas which gathered around this spot. The lake, notorious for the traditions of ill omen attached to it, lies less than a mile east of the ancient city beyond Monte Grillo. It was once thought to be an entrance to the infernal regions, and as such impressed mightily the imaginations of men, who ascribed baneful influences of various kinds to its waters (3). Vergil calls it the *ianua Ditis*. In those days a dense forest surrounded it and imparted thereby an atmosphere of gloom to a spot which now seems entirely commonplace. Here Aeneas is reported to have sought and by divine intervention to have found his golden branch (4). Upon the shore of the lake welled up a sacred spring, the water of which because

(1) Gabrici, *Sul valore dei tipi monetali nei problemi storici, etnografici e religiosi* in *Atti del Congr. intern. di scienze storiche* 1903, VI, 62 and *Riv. it. di num.* XIX (1906) 319.

(2) G. F. Hill. *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* 173; G. Macdonald, *Coin Types* 95; O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* II, 551.

(3) Its supposed deleterious effect upon birds is often asserted by the ancients: Verg. *Aen.* VI, 201; Sil. XII, 123; Strab. V, 4, 5; Pl'n. *nat* XXXI, 21; Val. Fl. IV, 493; Claud. *rapt. Pros.* II, 347; Serv. *Aen.* III, 442; Tzetzes on Lyc. 704. Its bottomless depth is mentioned by Lyc. 704; Diod. IV, 22; Pseudo-Arist. *de mirab. auscult.* 102; Lucan, II, 665; Vib. Seq. *Lacus in* Riese, *Geog. Lat. min.* p. 153. Cp. Petr. 120. The downward descent is alluded to by Verg. *Aen.* VI, 126; Serv. *Aen.* III, 386, VI, 237; Ribbeck, *Trag. Rom. frag. inc. fab. inc. frag.* 38.

(4) *Aen.* VI, 126, 185 f. Cp. V. 731; VII, 91.

of a supposed connection with the River Styx was left untouched (1). The most ancient tradition located in the vicinity an oracle of the dead, a genuine νεκυομαντεῖον, where responses were obtained by the evocation of spirits, a process described by Cicero. Servius in his description of it adds that it operated only after a death (2). Strabo, who gives an extended account of the place, calls it a Plutonium, while in the geographical composition circulated under the name of Scymnus of Chios, it is designated as a Cerberium (3). The latter name gave rise to a theory that this was the place where according to legend the dog of Hades was dragged by Hercules to the upper world. Ideas of this kind centering around the spot are perhaps responsible for the appearance of a likeness of the three headed dog on a series of silver didrachmas of the fifth century B. C. (4).

This oracle was identified by the ancients as the one at which Odysseus consulted the shade of the Theban seer Tiresias in order to obtain helpful information for his journey. This was the view of Ephorus who located the Homeric Cimmerians in these parts, and the same opinion has also been advanced in modern times (5). In the olden days according to that historian the oracle was built far below the surface

(1) Strab. V, 4, 5 (244): ἔστι δὲ πηγή τις αὐτόθι ποτίμου ὕδατος ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ, τούτου δ' ἀπείχοντο πάντες τὸ τῆς Στυγὸς ὕδωρ νομίσαντες. Quaranta, *Alcuni luoghi di Strabone* in *Mem. della r. acc. ercol.* IV, part. 2, 90.

(2) Cic. *Tusc.* I, 37.....inde ea, quae meus amicus Appius νεκυομαντεῖα faciebat, inde in uicinia nostra Auerni lacus,

Unde animae excitantur obscura umbra opertae ex ostio
Altae Acheruntis, salso sangu'ne,
Imagines mortuorum. Diod. IV, 21, 1. Serv. *Aen.* VI, 107.

(3) Strab. V, 4, 5: καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον πλουτώνιόν τι ὑπελάμβανον. Scymnus 239 = Müller, *Geog. Graec. min.* I, p. 205:

οὗ Κερβέριόν τι δείκνυται
ὑποχθόνιον μαντεῖον. ἐλθεῖν φασι δὲ
δεῦρο παρὰ Κίρκης ἐπανάγοντ' Ὀδυσσέα.

(4) See Müller's notes to the above passage. A. Sambon 164 No. 290; Gabrici *Relazioni artistiche e religiose etc.* in *Riv. ital. di num.* XIX (1906) 321.

(5) Hom. *Od.* XI, 14-17; Sil. XII, 130; Hyg. *fab.* 125; Maximus Tyrius, *diss.* XIV, 2 (Hobein's edition VIII, 2); Plin. *nat.* III, 61; Strab. V, 4, 5, Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* II, 311, 318. Refuted by Bury, *The Homeric and the Historic Kimmerians* in *Klio* VI (1906) 79.

of the earth and was tended by a mysterious race of men who lived habitually underground with no glimpse of the sunlight. He adds that they made a goodly profit from their oracle, but at last were exterminated by a king whom their advice had misled. Afterwards oracular revelations were still vouchsafed but no longer in the original place (1). This account of the oracle's prosperity and its final overthrow, in its original form represents no doubt a distorted version of the fact that the oracle of the dead, once so important, ceased to function after the arrival of Apollo. It is quite improbable as stated by Svoronos that sacrifices were still made here to obtain responses in the time of Strabo (2). The oracle continued only in the sense that there was still a seeress called the Sibyl to communicate oracular messages, but this activity was now carried on under the inspiration of Apollo; the method of revelation was altered, and the seat of prophecy was now in the cave of the Acropolis. The old oracle was probably situated at the south side of the lake, where a tunnel still enters the earth; here Aeneas offered his sacrifices to obtain admission to the lower world (3).

As the oracle at Avernus depended on the spirits of the dead, the lake and the surrounding territory were naturally considered to lie in the domain of the nether powers, - a sentiment that lingered there long after the disappearance of the oracle. According to Silius the spot was *religione sacer* at the epoch of the Punic Wars, and hither Hannibal in 214 B. C. during his military operations in Campania led his troops under the pretext of sacrificing to the divinities of the lake (4).

(1) Strab. V, 4, 5.

(2) Svoronos, *Explication de la base de Sorrente* in *Jour. internat. d'arch. num.* XVI (1914) 190.

(3) Cocchia, *L'Averno virgiliano* in *Atti Nap.* XVIII (1896) part 1, No. 7, 39 f.; Scherillo, *Dell'aria di Baia a tempo dei Romani* 55-59 located the entrance of the lower world used by Vergil on the western side of the lake on the site of the grotto di Pietro la Pace.

(4) Liv. XXIV, 12, 4: Inde Numidis Hispanisque ad praesidium simul castrorum simul Capuae relictis cum cetero exercitu ad lacum Auerni per speciem sacrificandi, re ipsa, ut temptaret Puteolos quodque ibi praesidi erat, descendit. S'l. XII, 12, 2:

> Tum tristi nemore atque umbris migrantibus horrens
> et formidatus uolucri letale uomebat
> suffuso uirus caelo Stygiaque per urbes
> religione sacer sacrum retinebat honorem.

This is probably a reminiscence of the original notion according to which the divinities localized here were vaguely conceived and not reduced to definite numbers nor supplied with definite names. The Greeks finding this condition existent generally assigned the place to Persephone (1). Yet such a goddess obviously did not become a concrete personality and other identifications were suggested from time to time for the reigning power, although a feminine deity was regularly thought of, She is called sometimes Persephone or Cora, at other times Hecate or Juno Averna (2). Vergil, who seems to have confused the oracle in the cave of the Acropolis with the one at Avernus, apparently has reference to the forests about the lake when he speaks of the groves of Trivia (3). Ruins on the eastern side of the lake were commonly spoken of as the remains of a temple of Apollo. The antiquary Paoli, discerning the error of this assignment, decided that they were the remains of a shrine of Diana-Hecate, which Vergil had in mind, but they have since been indentified as a bath. (4).

The vagueness of the conception attached to the divinity of the lake is shown by the fact that still other names appear. When M. Agrippa was endeavoring to create a harbor at Cumae, he materially changed the original character of the lake and its adjoining shores by cutting down the forests, enlarging the channel that connected this body of water with Lake Lucrinus, and making other improvements. While such an enterprise was no longer prevented by religious scruples, there must have been a conservative element opposed to such a project and disposed to see wonders and signs. Accordingly during the time that the workmen were engaged in their task, the image of a deity above the lake was reported to be covered

(1) Diod. IV, 22, 1; Lycoph. 698; Lenormant, *Ceres*, D.-S. I, 1032

(2) Ov. *met.* XIV, 114; Sil. XIII, 601.

(3) Verg. *Aen.* VI, 13. The poet connects the Sibyl both with Cumae and with Avernus. Cocchia, *Atti Nap.* XVIII (1896) part. I, No. 7, 36 thinks of a subterranean connection between them so that both were the Sibyl's domain. Hülsen, *Avernus lacus*, P.-W. II, 2286 and R. Peter, *Avernus*, Roscher I, 740 assert that the Cumean Sibyl had her seat at Avernus.

(4) Paoli, *Antiquitatum reliquiae*, Fol. 28. Another ruin on the border of the lake has received without apparent reason the name *Tempio di Mercurio*. Beloch, 171; Mazzella, *Antichità di Pozzuolo*, 99.

with moisture. Dio was inclined to identify this goddess with Calypso, although he admitted that the matter was uncertain (1). But Calypso was a nymph who does not seem to have had a cult in any other place, and the image mentioned by Dio Cassius was more likely that of some heroine, as befitted the chthonic character of the place (2). Another account of the same event mentions a sweating image but assigns it, as usually interpreted, to an eponymous god Avernus. This version is unique in that it deals with a male rather than a female divinity, and under the name of Avernus signifies a localized Pluto or Dis Pater (3). But probably the word *Auerni* in this narration is in the locative case and so does not refer directly to the image; hence there is really no variation in the accounts and the statue remains nameless (4). At all events notice was taken of the omen by the Roman *pontifices*, who ordered adequate reparation to be made to the offended chthonic power.

Although the fear of the gods' vengeance did not prevent the desecration of the sacred place, this did not cease to maintain a special character of sanctity down to the very end of Paganism. In the Campanian calendar of 389 A. D. discussed in chapter I there appears a midsummer festival celebrated at this place probably for the commemoration of the dead. Its selection for the ceremonies is a token of the tenacity with which the notions pertaining originally to the lake still clung to it after the lapse of centuries, and shows how difficult it is for a place once accounted sacred to lose that characteristic.

(1) Dio Cass. XLVIII, 50, 4.

(2) Immisch, *Kalypso*, Roscher, II, 942.

(3) Serv. *georg.* II, 162 (based on Agrippa's autobiography). Deinde terra effosa inter ipsum Lucrinum et Auernum, contigit ut duo lacus miscerentur, et tanta tempestas orta est, ut prodigii loco habita sit ac nuntiatum sit simulacrum Averni sudasse: propter quod pontifices ibi piacularia sacra fecerunt. Cp. Peter, Roscher I, 740; Wissowa, *Avernus deus*, P. - W. II, 2285.

(4) Cp. however the appearance of the term *Genio Auerni* in an inscription of Britain *C. I. L.* VII. 165. The vicinity of Lake Avernus seems to have been regarded with awe even in the Middle Ages. Here Christ was said to have come from Hades with ransomed souls and then to have stopped up the entrance by placing a mountain where later arose Monte Nuovo. Preller, *Ueber den Monte Nuovo* in *Ber. der kgl. sächs. Gesell. der Wiss.* II (1850) 146; Mazzella, *Antichità di Pozzuolo* 83.

The same locality was the scene of the festival marking the termination of the vintage, which took place at Lake Acherusia every year on the Ides of October (1).

ROMAN CULTS AND EMPEROR WORSHIP.

The Latinization of the city of Cumae made considerable progress from the time that it came under Roman control and as early as 180 B. C. Latin had become the official language. In this process the ancient religion must have been vitally affected, but no record of this has been left. During the Imperial period, after the Roman colony had been established, there was naturally a closer relation between the religion of this community and that of Rome. For the pontiffs, augurs, and other municipal priests who must have held office here there is a lack of evidence. On the contrary, considerable traces remain of that formal religion of the Roman state which consisted in the adoration of the Emperor. At the same time, often in connection with this cult, there prevailed the worship of various abstractions such as Spes and Victoria, which were probably all introduced through Roman influence. Then too old Roman deities like Vesta, early traces of whom are lacking, were now honored just as in Rome.

This condition of affairs is well illustrated by the remains of a list of festivals connected with the worship of Augustus. These fragments, containing in a mutilated form references to most of the days originally marked for observance, have been discovered at various times (2). The list was doubtless affixed to the temple of the Emperor and was composed, as appears from internal evidence, between the years 4 and 14 A. D. No more definite data are at hand for fixing the foun-

(1) See p. 43.

(2) The last discovery was made in 1882. *N. S.* 1882, 239. Revised text with Mommsen's supplements in *C. I. L.* I, p. 229; *C. I. L.* X, 8375; D. 108; text with commentary by Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.* IV, 258-270; De Petra, *Nuovo frammento del feriale cumano* in *Atti Nap.* XI (1882-83) part 1, 33 f. with a list of the celebrations 43. Cp. Heinen, *Zur Begründung des röm. Kaiserkultes* in *Klio* XI (1911) 171. Similar is a fragment from Ameria in Umbria *C. I. L.* XI, 4346; Bormann, *Mitt. aus Oestereich* XIX (1896) 115.

dation of the shrine (1). It is an interesting record of the tendency to accord divine honors to Augustus during his life time, a feature of religious development that was prominent in Campania and due in part to the presence of the Greek element in the population. If Cumae was a colony of the Emperor, this circumstance would tend to foster his cult. Here he seems not to have tried to repress the movement toward his deification in the same way that he did at Rome itself. It is certain that the Emperor was alive when these festivals were announced; otherwise the term *diuus* would have been applied to him, when sacrifices to his divinity were ordered, and the date of his deification (Oct. 17) would scarcely have passed unnoticed (2).

So far as it has been preserved the list shows seventeen days during the year which were sacred to Augustus. The ones selected are fewer in number and somewhat different from those celebrated at Rome, - a circumstance which indicates that the municipalities were free to decide the details of the worship, subject to Imperial approval. Most of the festivals refer to important events in the career of Augustus himself and embrace in the order of their occurrence the following celebrations: his birthday (Sept. 23), the assumption of the *toga uirilis* (Oct. 18), the occasion of receiving praetorian power (Jan. 7), the first consulship (Aug. 19), the submission of Lepidus (Sept. 3), his designation as Augustus (Jan. 16), the consecration of the temple of Mars (May 12), the dedication of the altar of Fortuna Redux after his return from the East in 19 B. C. (Dec. 15), his election as Pontifex maximus (March 6) and the dedication of the altar of Pax Augusta in 9 B. C. Jan. 30) (3). Besides these events two others are probably indicated and are so printed in Mommsen's version, - the first victory of Augustus (April 15) and his salutation as Imperator by the troops (April 16), both events of the year 43

(1) The indications fixing the date are discussed by Mommsen, *loc. cit.* 267. Cp. Dessau, 108 and Heinen, *Klio* XI (1911) 171. The latter (p. 175)). gives a list of temples, altars, and priests of the living Augustus in Italy.

(2) See p. 34.

(3) The festival of Fortuna Redux was called *Augustalia* and widely. celebrated. Mommsen, *Res gestae Divi Augusti* II, 11 (p. 46); De Ruggiero, *Augustalia,* Ruggiero I, 877.

B. C. It is worthy of note that the initial day of this calendar marking the new year is Aug. 19, the day when Augustus entered upon his consulship, which others, although not he himself, considered the beginning of his principate (1).

The only occasion requiring the sacrifice of a victim was the festival of his birthday, when he himself as divinity received the honor of an *immolatio;* all others are designated simply as *supplicationes* to be observed with prayers and libations. On each day one or more gods were chosen to receive these honors, among whom the Emperor sometimes appeared. On one occasion the libation is made to the *imperium* of Caesar Augustus, the only instance cited for such a form of honor, and on another occasion he received tribute through the use of the abstract divinity Victoria Augusta. Similar abstractions are seen in the forms Fortuna Redux, Felicitas, Spes et Iuventas. In connection with Vesta are mentioned the *dii publ(ici) P(enates) p(opuli) R(omani) Q(uiritium).* A *supplicatio* to this goddess held on the anniversary of the day that Augustus was made *pontifex maximus* was peculiarly fitting because her cult in particular was under the supervision of that officer (2). Among the greater gods appear Jupiter with the epithet *sempiternus,* and Mars, the latter in the combination Moles Martis (3). Though *Moles* is a term whose significance in religion is little understood, it seems to refer to a vague divinity associated with Mars as companion and assistant (4).

Besides these festivals celebrating the chief events in the life of Augustus, three notices allude to members of the Imperial family whom the Emperor considered in the line of

(1) Tac. *ann.* I, 9: Multus hinc ipso de Augusto sermo, plerisque uana mirantibus quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii princeps et uitae supremus. Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsr.* II , 747 .

(2) Cp. Heinen, *Klio* XI (1911) 161 and Wissowa 76 for the action of Augustus as *pontifex maximus* relative to the Vestals.

(3) For the epithet *sempiternus* see von Premerstein, *Eine Votivinschrift aus augustischer Zeit* in *Mitt. aus Oesterreich* XV (1892) 81.

(4) Gell. XIII, 23; Mommsen, *Gesam. Schr* IV, 265, Peter, *Moles Martis,* Roscher, II, 3104; von Domaszewki, *Die Eigenschaftsgötter der altrömischen Relig.* in *Abhandl. zur röm. Relig.* 106. Mommsen's equivalent for *moles* is *Strebungen,* which is approved by von Domaszewski; the latter parallels the expression with such terms as uirtus legionis, exemplified in the religion of the Roman army.

succession to the throne, - Tiberius, his step-son and heir by adoption since 4 A. D. (Nov. 16) and the latter's son Drusus (Oct. 7) and nephew Germanicus (May 24). In each case a birthday was celebrated with honors rendered to Vesta. Finally, under date of July 12 the calendar probably contained a notice of the celebration marking the anniversary of the birth of *Diuus Iulius*. The divinities marked here for the supplicatio were Jupiter, Mars Ultor, and Venus Genetrix.

Here as elsewhere the cult of Augustus was carried on by the Augustales, an association of uncertain number composed of the most distinguished freedmen of the community. Three members are known by name, C. Auianius Epagathus, Q. Valerius Salutaris, and M. Antonius Iulianus (1). Another individual L. Caecilius Dioscorus is described as permanent *curator;* he was a member of a little known association of boatmen and is assigned to the third century A. D. (2). This inscription shows that the Augustales here as at Puteoli were presided over by *curatores;* it is the only instance in Campania of the term permanent *curator* which can be attributed to a definite locality, as the examples commonly cited from Puteoli do not surely belong to that city (3). It is also to be noted that three of the four men who held the office of Augustalis were members of the same organization in other towns, two at Puteoli and one at Misenum. Finally the Emperor was recognized in the cult of the Lares (4).

Little is known of the worship of other Emperors. Besides the temple erected to Augustus there was one at least for Diuus Vespasianus; here in the year 289 A. D. the decurions

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 3701: Dis man. C. Auiani Epagathi August. Cumis. *C. I. L.* X, 690, Vaglieri 1970: D. m. Q. Valerio Salutari Aug. Puteolis et Cumis... heredes *C. I. L.* X, 3676, D. 6059, Vaglieri 1730; D. m. M. Antoni Iuliani Augustali(s) immun(is) Misen. item August. Cum(is) etc.

(2) *N. S.* 1897, 12, D. 6339: L. Caecilio Dioscoro, curatori Augustalium Cumanor. perpetuo itemque Augustali dupl. Puteolanor. et curatori perpet(uo) cmbaenitariorum III (= trierum?) Piscinensium uixit etc. Cp. Sogliano, *Atti Nap.* XVIII (1896-7) 1 ; Vaglieri, *Atene e Roma* I (1898) 197 ; Stein, *Jahresber, über die Fortschr. der class. Alter.* CXLIV (1909) 247.

(3) Cp. de Ruggiero, *Curator,* Ruggiero, II, 1342, who does not include this example in his list of *curatores* of the Augustales.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 3691: Lares Augus(ti) Agrippa.

held a meeting in the interests of the cult of Magna Mater, whose temple was situated at Baiae (1).

ORIENTAL CULTS.

As the temple of Magna Mater for this community was situated at Baiae, it will be discussed a little later. For the worship of the gods of Egypt there is little evidence. A necklace found here contains little figures of a clothed Isis and a nude Harpocrates imposing silence according to a familiar type. Similar figures of this god were probably designed to adorn the ears, and here as in the necklace served as phylacteries (2). It has been claimed, however, that this necklace is an importation of Roman workmanship (3).

Traces of Egyptian influence have been seen in a *defixio* scrawled upon a leaden tablet, which was discovered in a grave (4). It belongs to a class of magic inscriptions of which several examples have been found in Campania, and is in harmony with a pronounced tendency of the Greeks to make use of this method of attempting to punish an enemy (5). In this case the inscription is of a late date, the second or third century A. D., and shows the influence of the Oriental gods (6). It belongs to the division of amatory imprecations and is directed against a certain Valeria Quadratilla by her husband. A large part of the tablet is illegible or doubtful, and the divinities who are invoked can not always be determined. Kaibel believed that there was a reference to Hermes

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 3698. See below p. 87.

(2) Semmola, *Mon. ined. dell'antichità e delle belle arti* 19 f. A picture of the necklace is given on Pl. III. For the efficacy of Harpocrates in amulets see Plin. *nat.* XXXIII 3 (12); Ed. Meyer, *Horos* Roscher I, 2747; Jahn, *Ueber den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks* in *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges. der Wissens* VII (1855) 47; Marquardt-Wissowa, *Röm. Staatsverw.* III, 107.

(3) Abeken, *Mittelitalien* 343 (4).

(4) *I. G.* XIV 872, Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae* No. 198, where references to earlier publications may be found. Cp. Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* VI (1847-48) 66 f. For some reason Stein, *Hermes*, P.-W. VIII, 755 assigns this inscription to Capua.

(5) Cesano, *Defixio*, Ruggiero II, 1563; Wünsch, *Defixionum tabellae*, praef. II in *I. G.* III Append'x.

(6) Cp. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* 6.

and Anubis, but this is denied by Audollent (1). Cesano, however, sees Egyptian influence in the appeal to the ruler of the universe and the lower world (l. 10) and thinks that the great god Osiris is meant (2). Other imprecations in fact invoke this divinity by name with similar language, and there is evidently a reference (l. 28) to the Egyptian evil spirit Typhon-Set. (3).

The tendency of the times to bring together deities of various nationalities, however far they were removed from one another in origin or function, is demonstrated here by the employment of Iao, representing the great deity of the Jews, along with pagan divinities. The invocation of Iao is by no means a novelty, as he appears in a *defixio* from Puteoli and in other examples (4). Other evidence for the presence of the Jews in this city is lacking as well as that for an early Christian community; yet the latter almost surely existed before the third or fourth centuries (5).

BAIAE AND BAULI.

Along the sea-coast about two Roman miles south of Cumae extended the community of Baiae, composed in large part of the villas of wealthy Romans. This locality had some importance in early times during the days of Cumae's commercial activity because of its harbor facilities; then after a period of stagnation it began to be popular in the last century of the Republic as a fashionable pleasure and health resort, but did not become widely known until the Imperial epoch. Among its attractions were its mineral springs, its scenery and its mild climate; during the summer, however,

(1) Kaibel, *I. G.* XIV, 872; Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae* No. 198. The importance of Hermes in defixions 's explained by Wünsch, *Defixionum tabellae* praef. VI in *I. G.* III, Appendix.

(2) Cesano, Ruggiero II, 1578-1579.

(3) Cp. Röder, *Set*, P.-W. IV, 774.

(4) See citations by Ganschinietz, *Iao* P.-W. IX, 709. Cp. Cesano Ruggiero II, 1578-1579. See p. 161.

(5) Harnack, *Die Mission und die Ausbreitung des Christentums II*, 219; Lanzoni, *Le origini del Cristianesimo nella Campania romana* in *Riv. storico-crit. delle scienze teol.* VI (1910) 119.

the air was thought to be malarious, and the most fashionable season was the spring. Many members of the Roman nobility as well as the Emperors had palatial residences round about, and the dissolute and licentious of both sexes flocked hither in search of gain and pleasure. But in spite of its celebrity and increasing population, which, however, was largely transient, Baiae did not have a municipal organization of its own; instead it remained under the jurisdiction of the municipal officers of Cumae. Adjoining Baiae probably on the north was another community called Bauli similarly composed but of less importance. It too was subject to Cumae (1).

Somewhere along the shore which lines the harbor of Baiae, probably on the projecting tongue of land called *Punta dell'Epitafio,* stood the temple of Venus Lucrina. It thus formed a part of Bauli (2). She may have derived this epithet because her shrine was in close proximity to the lake of that name, but it is more likely that she was considered as a deity closely associated with it, and thus succeeded some primitive goddess such as that one who had a shrine at Avernus. The sanctuary of the Lucrine Venus is mentioned by Statius among the objects which strike the attention of an observer at Surrentum, along with Mt. Gaurus, Misenum, and other features of the landscape of this coast (3). Martial too refers to the same goddess, calling Baiae « the golden shore of the

(1) Beloch 176, 180. Hülsen's statement of the location of Bauli between Misenum and Baiae on the Punta dell'Epitafio is singularly inexact, since the cape alluded to is not between these places but north of Baiae. Hülsen, *Bacoli,* P.-W. III, 154. The theory that Bauli lay to the south of Baiae on the site of the modern village of Bacoli is stated by Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde* II, 733. Cp. Mommsen *C. I. L.* X, p. 213. [See however *Class. Quarterly* (1910) 96 f. - Ed.]

(2) Beloch, 178.

(3) Stat. *silv.* III, 1, 147 f.:

> Spectat et Icario nemorosus palmite Gaurus
> siluaque quae fixam pelago Nesida coronat,
> et placidus Limon, omenque Euploea carinis,
> et Lucrina Venus, Phrygioque e uertice Graias
> addisces, Misene, tubas, ridetque benigna
> Parthenope gentile sacrum nudosque uirorum
> certatus et parua suae simulacra coronae.

blessed Venus » (1); An inscription in her honor, written partly in meter and reported to have been discovered at Cumae, may have been designed for this shrine. The dedication was made by Ti. Claudius Marcion to Venus with the epithets of *proba* and *sanctissima,* and is followed by verses in her praise (2). Another inscription which names this goddess is without religious significance (3). The nature of the cult exercised here is unknown; in the later period it may have been modified by influences from the East, but there is no reason to believe with Graillot that the divinity was preeminently Oriental (4). On account of her prominence a ruin in modern Baiae has received incorrectly the designation *Tempio di Venere* (5).

Evidence for the worship of Neptune is limited to a single citation from Petronius, who says that an image of the god stood in the Tetrastylon at Baiae (6). About this building nothing further is known. The traditions which connect Hercules with this coast have already been discussed in the treatment of Cumae (7). Propertius perhaps contains a vague allusion to the traditions that Dionysus made a victorious expedition toward the West as well as to the East. Nowhere else is there any statement that he visited Baiae, but the poet may have had in mind some local legend (8). According to the common designation there are in this vicinity remains of temples devoted respectively to Mercury and Diana, but these

(1) Mart. XI, 80; Litus beatae Veneris aureum Baias.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 3692 = D. 3170 = Vaglieri 1205: Veneri probae sanctiss-(imae) sacrum. Ti. Claudius Marcion. Followed by five hexameters = Bücheler *Carm. epigraf.* No. 225.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 2483.

(4) Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* 435.

(5) Loffredo *Le antiq. di Pozzuolo* 46; Paoli *Antiq. reliquiae* Fol. 31, Pl. LI.

(6) Petron. 104: Simulacrum Neptuni, quod Bais in Tetrastylo notaueram.

(7) See p. 69.

(8) Prop. III, 18, 1:

Clausus ab umbroso qua ludit pontus Auerno,
fumida Baiarum stagna tepentis aquae.....
hic ubi, mortales dexter cum quaereret urbes
cymbala Thebano concrepuere deo.

ruins are now believed to have belonged to bathing establishments (1).

MAGNA MATER.

Our accounts of the society which flourished at Baiae under the Empire would lead us to believe that it offered a fruitful field for the growth of the mystery religions of the Orient. The people of the community were largely of the wealthy, leisure class, who in many cases had both tasted and tired of the world's pleasures. They would welcome, therefore, a religion that appealed to the individual; convinced of the need of a personal salvation to free them from the load of guilt accumulated in the past and to offer encouragement for the future, they would naturally turn to those forms of worship which professed to supply this need. For such cults no certain evidence remains save in the case of the Great Mother, who under the name of Mater Baiana is known to have had a temple here in the third century A. D. Her cult was fostered not only by the presence of the element described above but also by reason of the proximity of the naval station at Misenum, where hosts of Asiatics had their quarters with the fleet. Graillot adduces this circumstance as a reason for the development of the cult at Puteoli, but more probably the larger part of the patronage of this transient element went to upbuild that at Baiae, which had its seat in a temple that was nearer and at the same time was by no means insignificant (2).

The same writer, calling attention to the topical designation of the goddess, compares her to Venus Lucrina, and suggests that as the latter presided over the waters of the Lucrine Lake, so the former protected the celebrated hot springs of the region (3). Indeed the circumstance that the Nymphs were usually associated with them would not exclude her,

(1) Beloch 187; De Iorio, *Guida di Pozzuoli* (2) 130; Dubois, 408; Paoli *Antiq. reliquiae, Fol.* 31, Pl. LII, LIV.

(2) Graillot, *Le cult de Cybèle* 432.

(3) Graillot *op. cit.* 435 and *Mater Deum Salutaris* in *Mélanges Cagnat* 213 f.

and she would tend gradually to supplant them. To judge from the place where the chief epigraphical evidence for the cult was found, her temple was situated on the height of the Castello or close by at its foot. It was thus in the immediate vicinity of the harbor and at no great distance from the baths. As her worship increased in popularity, she no doubt usurped the functions and attributes of early divinities, and may have been brought into close relation with the Plutonium at Lake Avernus in her capacity of goddess of the underworld (1).

Some interesting details of the administration of the worship have been preserved (2). On the first day of June 289 A. D. the decurions of Cumae, who in this as in other matters exercised jurisdiction over Baiae, met in the temple of Diuus Vespasianus to select a priest for the Magna Mater Baiana in the place of the former incumbent Claudius Restitutus, who had died. When the praetors brought the matter to the attention of the council, a vote was taken and Licinius Secundus was unanimously elected to fill the vacancy (3). It was necessary, however, before the newly elected priest could take office that the choice made by the local decurions should be formally ratified by the *quindecimuiri sacris faciundis,* the Roman board of commissioners having the care of religious matters. For this reason the priest is often called *sacerdos quindecimuiralis* (4). In this instance after a delay of two and a

(1) Graillot, *op. cit.* 438.

(2) C. *I. L.* X, 3698=D. 4175=Vaglieri 2135: M. Magrio Basso L. Ragonio Quintiano cos. K. Iunis, Cumis in templo Diui Vespasiani in ordine decuriorum quem M. Mallonius Undanus et Q. Claudius Acilianus praet. coegerant, ...referentibus pr. de sacerdote faciendo Matris Deae Bainae in locum Restituti, sacerdotis defuncti, placuit uniuersis Licinium Secundum sacerdotem fieri.

XVuiri sac. fac. pr. et magistratibus Cuman. sal. Cum ex epistula uestra cognouerimus, creasse uos sacerdotem Matris Deum Licinium Secundum in locum Claudi Restituti defunc., cui secundum uoluntatem uestra(m) permisimus ei occabo et corona dumtaxat intra fines coloniae uestrae uti. Optamus uos bene ualere etc. Cp. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la divin.* IV 310.

(3) Cp. the selection of an augur at Puteoli p. 117.

(4) See the list of municipal priests in Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* 239. The first dated instance of the term belongs to Lugdunum in Gaul, 160 A. D. (C. *I. L.* XIII, 1751); the first occurrence in Italy belongs to Forum Popilii

half months they sent their confirmation of the appointment, granting to the priest the right to wear the insignia of his office, - the *occabus* and the wreath, but limited the use of these distinctions to the territory of his own parish (1). This system of procedure shows that the various local cults of Magna Mater throughout Italy and doubtless in Roman colonies everywhere were controlled by a systematic scheme of regulation on the part of the central government. The Romans indeed had looked with suspicion on the excesses of this worship from the outset of their acquaintance with it, and felt that it might easily become a menace (2). Yet before the third century this religion had obtained a fairly high standing in the state (3).

There is no mention in this town of the taurobolium or of the official called *archigallus*, who flourished in the later Empire at the same period that this rite was practiced. But another inscription found at Cumae contains a complete list of the *dendrophori*, an association connected with the same cult, whose duty it was to bear the sacred pine of Attis in the procession of the March festival (4). Abundance of material was at hand in this region for the activity of the woodmen who made up this *collegium*; stretching along the sandy shore to the north of Cumae were miles of dark, gloomy pine forest, which under the name of *silua gallinaria* had acquired an unenviable notoriety as the resort of brigands (5). The list

(near Carinola) in the Ager Falernus, 186 A. D. (*C. I. L.* X, 4726). A list of quindecimviral investitures is given by Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 228.

(1) For the tokens of office see Graillot, *op. cit.* 247; Dessau in Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.* VIII, 17.

(2) Graillot, *op. cit.* 229.

(3) For the impetus to her worship at the end of the second century A. D. see von Domaszewski, *Magna Mater in Latin Inscriptions* in *Jour. Rom. Stud.* I (1911) 53.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 3699=D. 4147=Vaglieri 2141: Ex s. c. dendrophori creati qui sunt sub cura XVuir(orum) s(acris) f(aciundis) cc. uu. (=clarissimorum uirorum) L. Ampius Stephanus sac. M(atris) d(eum), q(in)q(uennalis) den(rophoris) dedicationi huius panem, uinum et sportulas dedit etc. The sacred and secular duties of the organization are discussed by Maué, *Die Vereine der fabri, centonarii und dendrophori im röm Reich* 19 f. Cp. von Domaszewski, *Jour. Rom. Stud.* (1911) 53; De Marchi, *Il culto privato di Roma antica*, II, 101 f.

(5) Strab. V, 4, 5; Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* 437-8; Juv. III 305.

from Cumae belongs to the year 251 A. D. and exhibits 87 members, who just as the priest of Magna Mater were under the charge of the Roman *quindecimuiri*. From the beginning of the Empire the *collegia* had been considered a dangerous institution, and during the reign of Augustus a *lex Iulia de collegiis*, effective throughout all Italy, prohibited the existence of all the associations that could not prove their usefulness to the community (1). To the class that was adjudged serviceable belong the *dendrophori*, who at this time had selected as their patron L. Ampius Stephanus, an incumbent of the priesthood of the goddess. In accordance with the conventions of the time he distributed among the members of the society bread, wine, and other gifts, - an event which the inscription was designed to commemorate. This is an instance of the cordial relations existing between the priesthood and the *collegium;* as the priest here became patron, so often the *dendrophori* furnished the cult with its ministers. An examination of the list shows a large number of persons with names indicative of a foreign origin, and the organization was composed wholly or chiefly of freedmen. By this time, however, it had obtained a very respectable position in all the communities where it existed and could command the services of a man of some prominence as its patron (2). This fact indicates that the priest Stephanus, selected here to play that role, was likely a man of wealth and influence, but rather a rich freedman than one who enjoyed the highest social position.

The comparatively large number of *dendrophori*, - 87 - has sometimes caused surprise, and the view was advanced by Beloch that the temple of the Mater Baiana served the people of Puteoli as well as those of Cumae and Baiae itself. Besides

(1) Suet *Aug.* 32: Collegia praeter antiqua et legitima dissoluit. *C. I. L.* VI, 2193=4416. A list of *collegia* in Italy which were permitted to hold meetings is given by Walzing, *Les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains* I, 125.

(2) For different opinions on the development of the *dendrophori* into a religious collegium see Aur'gemma, *Dendrophori*, Ruggiero II, 1673 f.; De Marchi, *Il culto privato di Roma antica* II 103; Graillot, *op. cit.* 115, 266; von Domaszewski, *op .cit.* 53. For their standing see Graillot, *op. cit.* 273; Aurigemma, Ruggero II, 1689.

alleging the small population of Cumae under the late Empire, he cites as a confirmation of this opinion the circumstance that in a list of *dendrophori* assigned to the shrine in question five members of the gens Granicus and three members of the Polii appear, - names which occur not infrequently in the inscriptions of Puteoli (1). The chief reason which makes this hypothesis untenable is the fact that Puteoli by reason of its large foreign population was the place which above all others could support an independent shrine. Although the list of *dendrophori* seems large, this feeling is mostly caused by the incompleteness of the lists that have reached us from other cities, so that as a result they give no clue to the total numbers (2). The right to nominate as members those outside of their own occupation was a prerogative everywhere enjoyed by this association, but it was naturally used in some communities more than in others. Furthermore, the number of woodmen and dealers in that commodity at Cumae would tend to be unusually large because of the presence of the *silua gallinaria,* affording ample scope for the exercise of their calling (3).

The expression *ex senatus consulto dendrophori creati* raises the question of how these men were chosen. Generally such societies were self creative, and vacancies were supplied and accessions made by the members themselves; in the case of this particular organization no evidence is at hand for any locality. According to Walzing's opinion the senate named here stands for the decurions or local governing body, who not infrequently are so designated elsewhere (4). Hence with this method of selection the *dendrophori* would have a thoroughly official character. A reason for such procedure

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 3700; Beloch 112. This view is stated by Aurigemma, Ruggiero II, 1689, who considers that menbers from Cumae and Puetoli formed one body of *dendrophori,* but his reasoning here seems less cogent than usual. Cp. Dubois, *Mélanges* XX II(1902) 35 f.

(2) Lists are cited by Aurigemma, Ruggeiero II, 1687.

(3) Graillot fails to mention this among the localities where the activity of the association was stimulated by the presence of forests.

(4) Walzing, *Les corporations prof. chez les Rom.* I 247; II 356; Maué, *Die Vereine der fabr.* etc. 34.

might lie in the fact that in any one city the number of persons eligible for this body would be too great for all to be included, so that a selection on the part of some legally constituted authority would be advisable.

Another view - and one that seems to accord better with the known circumstances - is stated by Aurigemma in his comprehensive treatment of this *collegium* (1). He explains that the senate in question is that of Rome, by whose decree the *dendrophori* chosen in the ordinary way, are given the authority to exist as a *collegium* under the oversight of the Roman quindecemviral board (2). This mode of selection is more probable because it is in harmony with the common principle of *cooptatio*. In regard to the number of the *dendrophori* two facts tend to establish the existence of this method of choice. In the first place the numbers in the society prove rather the election of outsiders in addition to the wood dealers than a restriction of the collegium to a part of the eligibles (3). In the second place, if the matter depended on the decurions, we should expect a comparatively small number of members or at least a round number; on the contrary a list of 87 members shows all the marks of chance (4). At the same time the *dendrophori* were not merely a professional guild but also a religious society having an official relation to the state. As such they would be properly subject to the local authorities, while the *quindecimuiri* formed the board of ultimate appeal (5). In the fragmentary list already mentioned there is a probability that a statement occurred saying that the organization held its meetings in accordance with a decree of the Senate, which again should be interpreted as that of Rome (6).

(1) Aurigemma, Ruggiero II, 1688 f.

(2) Cp. C. *I. L.* VI, 2193.

(3) Cp. Graillot, *op. cit.* 266 (4), who considers that menbership was compulsory on the part of those eligible from their occupation, and Maué, *op. cit.* 35 who states that the collegium consisted of a fixed, obligatory membership after the second century A. D.

(4) It is probable that complete lists for towns like Tomi and Ostia would show the same peculiarity.

(5) See p. 139.

(6) *C. I. L.* X, 3700. *C. I. G.* 5856, referring to Magna Mater, has been rejected as a forgery by recent editors.

MISENUM.

Beyond Baiae in the extreme southern part of the territory of Cumae there grew up on Cape Misenum a village of the same name. Unlike Baiae, however, it did not continue as a dependent community through its entire history, for about 31 B. C., after Agrippa had utilized the magnificent harbor as the headquarters of one of the Roman fleets, Misenum became quickly prominent and was made an independent municipality. Although it was technically a Roman colony with the regular officials belonging to such a town, it was in reality little more than a naval station, - a fact attested by the kind of epigraphical evidence that its site has yielded. When the Roman naval power diminished in the fourth century, the place declined, but it continued to exist for a long period until finally destroyed by the Saracens (before 900) (1).

PRE-ROMAN DEITIES.

The evidence for religious matters at Misenum belongs necessarily to the period of the Empire and is not extensive. Jupiter is found once with the epithet *Striganus* in a dedication coming from a *trierarcha* L. Varenius Rufus (2). As no other examples occur where the god was so honored, the epithet is not well understood. From the character of the dedicator and the use of the word *striganus* elsewhere in the sense of an office in the navy, it is clear that there is an allusion to some aspect of the god which was recognized by seamen (3). None of the other major divinities have left traces of their presence, unless perhaps a fragmentary inscription refers to Mercury (4).

Deus Magnus et Fatum Bonum appear as divinities upon an altar which commemorates a vow made by Valerius Valens to be paid when he attained the position of prefect of the

(1) Beloch 190 f.; Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 317; De Petra, *I porti antichi dell'Italia meridionale* 321 f.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 3337=Vaglieri 1122: Ioui Strigano L. Varenius Rufus tr(ierarcha).

(3) Cp. *C. I. L.* X, 3495; Forcellini, *Lexicon* V, 656.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 3338.

fleet stationed here (1). The inscription, partly in Greek and partly in Latin, falls between the years 238-244 A. D. The peculiar kind of deity reverenced by this officer indicates not a belief in the old gods of the state nor in the imported Oriental cults, but rather a trust in a philosophical system where a pantheistic deity includes in his person the functions of all minor deities. It is the religion peculiar to the man of high station, which has not been appreciably affected by the mystery cults at the period when their influence was at its height.

ROMAN DEITIES.

The official religion of the colony is represented by two inscriptions both having to do with the same man D. Iunius Certus who is called *sacerdos et haruspex publicus* (2). He had been selected for the latter office from among the priests of the community and seems to have been a man of some prominence (3). This is the only mention of a *haruspex* who can be definitely associated with any of the Campanian towns, although the office doubtless existed at this time in all of them. In some localities at least they formed a *collegium*, and unlike the public priests received a salary for their services (4).

The worship of Augustus and the Julian *gens* was in the hands of Augustales, three of whom are known (5). Two of

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 3336=*I. G.* XIV 873=D. 3756=Vaglieri 1047: Deo magno et Fato Bono Val. Valens u(ir) p(erfectissimus) praefect. classis Mis. p(iae) u(indicis) Gordianae uotum solui... Θεῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ καλῇ Μοίρᾳ Οὐάλης | ἀρχὴν λαχὼν ἔπαρχον Μεισηνῶν στόλου | ἔστησα βωμὸν ἐκτελῶν εὐχὴν ἐμήν. For another position held by Valens see D. 2159.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 3680=D. 4957a=Vaglieri 2222: D. m. D. Iunio D. f. Clau. Certo sacerdoti et aruspici publico ex genere sacerdotum creato fratri pientissimo. *C. I. L.* X, 3681=D 4957: D. m. D. Iunio D. f. Quad. (=Claud.) Certo sacerdoti et aruspici publico nepotes pientissimi.

(3) Thulin, *Haruspices*, P.-W. VII, 2439.

(4) Thulin *loc. cit.*; Marquardt-Wissowa, *Röm. Staatsverw.* III, 415; Wissowa, 548; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la divin.* IV, 376 (list of *haruspices* in Italy and the provinces); *C. I. L.* IX, 1540 (from Beneventum).

(5) *A. J. A.* 1898, 394, No. 53; *C. I. L.* X, 3675=Vaglieri, 1729: D. m. M. Antonius Ianuarius honoratus Augustalis Misenis (*sic*) uixit etc.; *C. I. L.* X, 3676=Vaglieri 1730: D. m. M. Antoni Iuliani, Augustali(s) immun(is) Misen(i), item August. Cum(is) adlect(o) trib(ui) Palat. uixit etc.

them Flauius Zoticus and M. Antonius Ianuarius are designated simply as Augustales, the third M. Antonius Iulianus was a more distinguished personage, who had received his office as an *immunis* without being called upon to make the customary outlay for amusements or other purposes. He filled the same position at Cumae. According to von Premerstein the word *honoratus* in the epitaph of Ianuarius has reference to a special grade in the association which this man had reached (1). But as there are no other examples of this rank, it seems more natural to consider the word simply as a term of eulogy alluding to the esteem in which he was held while filling the post of Augustalis. It should be noted further that *immunis* is not a common term, but the idea that it conveys is expressed often enough in other ways.

JUPITER DOLICHENUS.

The officers, soldiers, sailors and artisans of the fleet stationed at Misenum were in many cases Orientals by birth and naturally interested in the cults which originated in the East. Such continued to be the composition of the soldiers of the fleet when they had been organized in the first *legio adiutrix* (2). Their presence in most cases caused the dedication of sporadic inscriptions rather than the maintenance of special shrines, particularly when there were already in existence at Puteoli and Baiae sanctuaries of the divinities favored by these people. In a few cases, however, where the divinity was not much worshipped outside of the army, regular cults with shrine and priests may have been instituted at Misenum. This is what seems to have happened in the case of Jupiter Dolichenus, who is mentioned in a few extant inscriptions of doubtful origin. Although this cult has been generally assigned to Puteoli, its seat was more probably at Misenum in

(1) Von Premerstein, *Augustales*, Ruggiero I, 850.

(2) Aschbach, *Die röm. Legionen prima und secunda adiutrix* in *Sitzungsber. der kais. Akad. (Wien)* XX (1856) 301, 314; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* II (2), 511; Cagnat,*Legio*, D.-S. III, 1057, 1075; Vaglieri, *Adiutrix*, Ruggiero I, 86 f. A list of nationalities revealed by inscriptions from Misenum is found in Marquardt, *op. cit.* II(2) 510 (2).

close proximity to the great naval establishment (1). For this cult was not spread especially by merchants, as maintained by Hettner, nor by civilians of any class, but by the different branches of the military. Dolichenus alone of all the Oriental deities was primarily a soldiers' god and his presence is not attested in localities where soldiers were not stationed (2).

He was originally the tutelary god of Doliche in Commagene and was usually conceived in the form of a vigorous man standing on the back of a bull. Amalgamated with Jupiter like other deities of the East, he became very popular with the soldiers about Hadrian's time, and was favored especially under Commodus and the Severi. Besides his popularity with the soldiers he enjoyed the worship of the lower classes, and slaves played no insignificant part in introducing and maintaining his cult (3).

An inscription which exists only in a manuscript copy preserves the name of a priest Antipater and of four devotees who made offerings of silver to the god as *I. O. M. Dol.* (4). After the name of each of the donators appears the word *filia,* which in its present form is wholly unintelligible. Kan ingeniously conjectured that the reading of the stone was *Cilix* and that this was mistaken by an eighteenth century copyist for *filia.* Though this conjecture is not entirely con-

(1) Assigned to Puteoli by Mommsen *C. I. L.* X, p. 195; Hülsen, *Röm. Mitt.* XVIII (1903) 74; and doubtfully by Dubois, 154 f.

(2) Hettner, *De Iove Dolicheno* 6, 15; Kan, *De Iovis Dolicheni culto* 11; C. H. Moore, *The Distribution of Oriental Cults in the Gauls and the Germanies* in *Trans. and Proc. of the Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXVIII (1907) 145. Cp. Seidl, *Ueber den Dolichenus-Cult* in *Sitzungsber. der Kais. Akad.* (Wien) XII (1854) 24; von Domaszewsk', *Die Religion des röm. Heeres* 59; Cumont, *Textes et monuments* I, 263.

(3) Ed. Meyer, *Dolichenus,* Roscher, I, 1191 f.; Cumont, *Dolichenus,* P.-W. V, 1216 f.; Reinach, *Dolichenus Deus Jupiter,* D.-S. II, 329 f.; C. S. Sanders, *Iupiter Dolichenus* in *Jour. of the Am. Oriental Society* XXIII (1902) 89; Kan, *op. cit.* 11, 17.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 1577, Vaglieri 1117: Iulius sub sacerdote Antipatro I. O. M. Dol., Iulius Antiochus filia p(ondo) I arg(enti) d. d. Antonius Domitianus filia p(ondo) I arg(enti) d. d. Iulius Ianuarius filia p(ondo) IS arg(enti) d. d. Antinius Valens filia p(ondo) I arg(enti) d. d.

vincing it has the great merit of fitting the circumstances of the case, for there were a large number of Cilicians with the fleet, who might have made the offerings (1). Another inscription, partially preserved, alludes to a dedication made by order of a god who is designated by the letters I. O. M. D. (2) This might be understood as a reference to Jupiter Damascenus, who is known to have had adherents in this region. But the greater prominence of Dolichenus and the circumstance that the fragment was found at Misenum render it almost certain that the dedication was intended for him. In fact a reference to the other god would not have been made in this abbreviated way, or it would have been misunderstood (3). A priest is mentioned but the inscription has been too much mutilated to give the exact sense of the whole.

Finally a stone containing the Latin alphabet flanked by two towering serpents belongs evidently to this cult (4). The inscription, whose sacred character is thus symbolically indicated, belongs to the large class of magic formulas in which a whole or part of the alphabet is employed (5). The use of such inscriptions seems to have been a noticeable feature of the Dolichenus cult, and to have depended on the idea that from such a series of letters the god could understand all the petitions that the worshipper might thereby frame (6). According to one theory the presence of the alphabet is accounted for by the identification of Dolichenus with the Babylonian Nebo, who presided over the art of writing; according to another theory it was due originally to indolence on the part of the Asiatic devotees of the god, but it was more probably an instance of the belief that the alphabet had magical powers, - a sentiment which was a survival from primitive times

(1) Kan, *op. cit.* 84-85. The inscription was copied by Matteo Egizio (Aegyptius) or by Christophorus Saxius. The epitaph of Iulius Antiochus, faber dupliciarius, a Cilician, appears in *C. I. L.* X, 3424. A list of the men of this nationality at Misenum is given by Kan, *loc. cit.*

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1575.

(3) Hettner, *De Iove Dolicheno* 23.

(4) Hülsen, *Röm. Mitt.* XVIII (1903) 73.

(5) Dieterich, *ABC-Denkmäler* in *Rh. Mus.* LVI (1901) 77 f.

(6) Hülsen, *Klio* II (1902) 235.

when the art of writing was regarded as a marvelous thing (1). Similar inscriptions belonging to the cult of Dolichenus have been found at Rome and in the provinces, notably in Pannonia (2). The inscription from Misenum has been assigned by Hülsen on account of the later forms to the period of Trajan and Hadrian (3).

HAMAE.

Between Capua and Cumae and only three Roman miles distant from the latter town was a village, where the inhabitants of Campania were accustomed to gather annually, for an important religious festival which lasted for three days (4). It was in fact the sanctuary of the Campanian league in which Capua had the leading place (5). One of these celebrations in 215 B. C. became of historical importance because of a Roman victory which resulted on account of it. The Capuans had invited the senators of Cumae to meet them here, ostensibly to arrange an alliance, but in reality according to Livy to entrap them. As the Roman authorities had been informed by the Cumaeans of the plot, they were enabled to surprise the Campanian army before it had time to carry out the plans of the Capuan leaders and so the Romans won an easy victory (6). Nissen connects with the place the celebration marked in the late Campanian calendar as *profectio ad iter Auerni* (7). It seems more probable, however, that this festival was concerned with the observances due to the dead, and hence was held at Lake Avernus itself. There is no reason to suppose that the festival that Livy mentions was kept up indefinitely and thus survived till the end of the pagan world.

(1) Hülsen, *loc. cit.*; Kan, *De Iovis Dolicheni culto* 52; Tragan, quoted by Kan, *loc. cit.*; cp. A. Jeremias, *Nebo*, Roscher III, 55; Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch* (5) V. 462; Dieterich *Rh. Mus.* LVI (1901), 103.

(2) Hülsen, *Klio* I. (1902) 235 : Dell, *Ausgrabungen in Carnuntum* in *Arch.-epigraph. Mitt. aus Oester.* XVI (1893) 156 f.

(3) Hülsen, *Röm. Mitt.* XVII (1903) 73.

(4) Its exact location is unknown.

(5) Liv. XXIII, 35,3: Campanis omnibus statum sacrificium ad Hamas erat.

(6) Liv. XXIII, 35.

(7) Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde* II, 715.

CHAPTER III.

PUTEOLI.

Puteoli, once the leading commercial city of Italy, enjoyed a favorable location on the Campanian coast amid the Phlegraean Fields. Lying between the territories of Cumae and Neapolis and bounded on the north by that of Capua, it was originally limited in its jurisdiction to an extremely small district; for the domain of Capua, which included the *Ager Campanus* and the mountain separating this from the sea, thus reached to its very doors. But during the reign of Vespasian a considerable tract of the Campanian plain extending about as far as the modern town of Aversa or perhaps even to the River Clanius seems to have been allotted to Puteoli, because it had favored the emperor's candidacy for the throne, while Capua had espoused the cause of his rival Vitellius. The early settlement was constructed upon the elevation which is occupied by the present town of Pozzuoli, but after the Hannibalic War the city began to increase gradually in size and to cover the low district surrounding the harbor.

The oldest part of the city was systematically arranged after the Greek fashion as in Neapolis with parallel rows of streets, which were laid out according to the points of the compass and intersected one another at right angles. The harbor district on the contrary showed no regular plan. When the city later received a Roman colony, the district extending inland toward the Solfatara was laid out for their use according to the Roman style systematically with *cardo* and *decumani*, - a fact attested by the parallelism of the principal modern roadways that follow the ancient lines. Two important highways entered Puteoli from the interior, the *Via Campana*

from Capua and the north, the *Via Antiniana* from Neapolis, Other roads extended along the shore.

The importance of the place was due chiefly to its harbor, whose waters were protected by the construction of an enormous mole; although this was once destroyed, it was rebuilt with the aid of the Emperor Antoninus Pius. During the last century and a half of the Republic and the first years of the Empire vessels from all parts of the world could be seen in the harbor; the Oriental trade especially that with Egypt and Phoenicia thrived. The arrival of the Alexandrian fleet was the event most anticipated by the whole population. The commercial importance of Puteoli grew with the development of Roman influence in the Orient and the spread of luxury at Rome, when that city first became a world power; it declined when a port was constructed at the mouth of the Tiber by Claudius.

To carry on the various branches of commercial activity many merchants from the East took up their abode here bringing with them their customs and religious notions. There was also always present a large floating population of sailors and longshoremen from the three continents of the ancient world. In contrast, therefore, to the other cities on the Campanian coast, Puteoli at the beginning of the Christian era was a busy cosmopolitan trade center rather than a quiet provincial town. Furthermore, while its activity was primarily commercial, it was to a large extent engaged in manufactures. These comprised articles of iron brought from Elba and Sardinia, white-lead, pottery, mosaics, and dye-stuffs, all of which helped to swell the bulk of commerce. Another article was the celebrated *puluis puteolanus* or *pozzolana* for the preparation of cement. But, although the great mass of the population had assembled here for business reasons, there were not wanting men of wealth and leisure who built villas upon the surrounding hills because of the scenic charm of the place and its abundance of mineral springs. Among this class were Sulla and Cicero (1).

(1) Further particulars are given by Beloch 114 f.; Dubois 64 f.; Nissen, *It. Landesk.* II, 740 f.; Sogliano, *Pozzuoli e Pompei* in *Atene e Roma* XVII (1914) 368; De Petra, *I porti antichi dell'Italia meridionale* 317 f.

Puteoli, first known as Dicaearchia, was the seat of a Greek colony. Although there is some uncertainty about the origin of these earlier settlers, it is generally admitted that they were Samians, who were seeking new homes, perhaps in consequence of the tyranny of Polycrates. They seem, however, to have been few in numbers and to have been in a state of dependence upon Cumae. In fact the place is spoken of merely as a port of that city, and doubtless derived from that source the greater part of its population. During the periods of Greek and Oscan supremacy in Campania Puteoli had no particular history and its original Greek element soon disappeared.

Coming into the hands of the Romans, it served as a strong fortress and base of operations against Hannibal. It had been put with Cumae under the charge of the Campanian magistrate, the *praetor Capuam Cumas* in 318 B. C. and continued in this state until 194 B. C. when it received a Roman colony of 300. From this time it increased rapidly in population and commercial importance at the expense of Neapolis, the port through which the Oriental trade with Italy had formerly passed. Popular disturbances are reported at the time of Sulla and Nero. Because of the fact that the latter is said to have changed the government from a municipality into a colony (63 A. D.), though Roman colonists were found here long before his day, scholars have been constrained to admit the unsatisfactory theory of a double state existing for many years, made up on the one hand of Roman citizens and on the other of non-Romans governed as a municipality (1). At any rate Nero called the city by the imposing title of *Colonia Claudia Neronensis Puteolana* an appellation which was changed to *Colonia Flauia Augusta Puteolana* under Vespasian, who was much liked in the town. As already stated, the importance of the city declined after the first Christian century, but it still figured largely in the distribution of public grain under Constantine and his successors. Since it was not protected as a whole by walls, it suffered much when the barbarians had made their way into Italy; most of the inhabitants went

(1) Cp. Kornemann, *Colonia*, P.-W. IV, 538.

to Naples and only the heights occupied by the first settlement continued to be populated (1).

In contrast to the extremely limited number of inscriptions available for the study of religion in many localities of Campania, Puteoli appears at first sight to present a real wealth of epigraphical material. But many inscriptions that have been classified as belonging to this city have no real claim for such an assignment. The cities in the vicinity were so numerous, and were situated in such close proximity one to the other, that it is often difficult, if not impossible, to determine the source of a given inscription. The principle followed by Mommsen in editing this portion of the *Corpus* of Latin inscriptions, to attribute to Puteoli as the largest city all those inscriptions which can not be definitely associated with Cumae, Misenum or Neapolis, makes the epigraphical evidence confusing and often of little value. Hence it is necessary to use great caution in dealing with this material in order not to draw unwarranted conclusions from it (2).

Unlike Cumae Puteoli does not exhibit any evidence for the religion of the early Greek settlers; likewise Oscan inscriptions are wanting, and there is little material on which to base a study of the earlier period. References to religious matters pertain generally to the Roman period, and we can use the Roman names in speaking of the various deities, although the principal ones must have been worshipped here long before the Roman domination. Cults that are not of Roman origin are included in the following list.

PRE-ROMAN DEITIES, JUPITER.

Jupiter was worshipped under several guises as a result of the identification of the great Greek and Italian divinity with Oriental gods, but these combinations will be reserved for later

(1) For the history of Puteoli see Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, pp. 182-184; Dubois, 1 f.; Nissen, *It. Landesk.* II, 737; Beloch 89-93 and Ergänzungen 433.

(2) Cp. Dressel, *Numismatische Beiträge* in *Hist. und. Phil. Aufsätze E. Curtius gewidmet* 255 (4). I have relegated to the Appendix as wholly uncertain several inscriptions classed by Mommsen with the *Puteolanae* and used by Dubois for establishing various cults in this city.

treatment. Likewise the cult of the Capitoline deity will be discussed in the next section, and the old cult of Jupiter Flazzus, assigned to Puteoli by Dubois, has been left for the Appendix (1).

APOLLO.

Whatever may have been the exact origin of the first settlement around Puteoli, there is little doubt that the settlers were worshippers of Apollo. The god may well have been introduced with the colonists who arrived from Samos; it has even been suggested that this colony was the source of the Sibylline oracles in south Italy, which are supposed to have passed through it on their way from Erythrae to Cumae (2). In addition, the strong influence which Cumae wielded in this district and the probability that citizens of that town had a part in the early development of Puteoli make the location of a temple here at this period amount to a certainty.

Statius goes farther and says that the colonization was made under the auspices of Apollo (3). But since the reference to Puteoli in the first part of this passage has been called in question, as by Dubois, it becomes necessary to re-examine the words of Statius. In relating that various cities of Campania were spared by the volcano Vesuvius the poet cites several examples, which he designates by circumlocutions. In accordance with the view of Dubois, who arbitrarily inserts a mark of punctuation between *tecta* and *Dicarchei*, there is first a reference to Apollo's temple at Cumae as far as the word

(1) Corcia, *Storia delle due Sicilie* II, 179, erroneously claims temples for Jupiter under the three fold aspect of Optimus Maximus, Custos and Victor.

(2) Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* 44.

(3) Stat. *silv.* III, V, 74 f.:

Hinc auspice condita Phoebo
tecta Dicarchei portusque et litora mundi
hospita: at hinc magnae tractus imitantia Romae
quae Capys aduectis impleuit moenia Teucris.
Nostra quoque et propriis tenuis nec rara colonis
Parthenope, cui mite solum trans aequora uectae
ipse Dionaea monstravit Apollo columba.

tecta, then a reference to the harbor and hospitable shore of Puteoli, and finally allusions to Capua and Neapolis (1). But this reading puts a forced interpretation upon the statements of Statius, who clearly divides his account into three parts marked off definitely by the particles *hinc, at hinc,* and *quoque*. Moreover, each circumlocution describing the three chief Campanian towns, - Puteoli, Capua and Neapolis, - is approximately of the same length, - long enough in fact to make the reference perfectly intelligible to the reader. Hence we are justified in understanding the words of Statius as an evidence for the existence of an early cult of Apollo at Puteoli.

Naturally his temple was located on the Acropolis, the site of the first Greek settlement. The building appears on a plate inserted at the beginning of Bellori's *Fragmenta vestigii veteris Romae* (2). This design is labelled *ex antiqua pictura ;* though the original soon disappeared, it was first seen and described by Ottavio Falconieri (3). The scene here represented has been sometimes considered to be a view of the Tiber beneath the Aventine hill at Rome, and this opinion has been more recently revived by Hülsen; most modern scholars, however, following the lead of Canina have seen here the coast of Puteoli (4). In fact the design appears to be a reproduction more or less exact of the mole and the principal buildings along the shore of this city, and is probably derived from a good source. It is thus to be considered in the same class with the vases which exhibit painted designs of the Campanian coast at Baiae and Puteoli. In Bellori's plate a small building marked T. APOLLINIS is seen in the extreme right-hand

(1) Dubois, 133.

(2) Bellori, *Fragmenta vestigii veteris Romae* (1673) 1.

(3) Described in a letter to N. Heinsius with date of Aug. 19, 1668; by Burmann, *Sylloge epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum* V, p. 527; and Hülsen p. 214 of the article cited below. The original painting, found in 1668 at Rome, is assigned to the third century A. D. Hülsen, *Röm. Mitt.* XI (1896) 219; Dubois, 204.

(4) Hülsen, *Di una pittura antica ritrovata sull'Esquilino nel 1668* in *Röm. Mitt.* XI (1896) 213 f.; Canina, *Architettura antica,* sezione romana 186 and table 161; De Rossi, *Topografia delle spiagge di Baja* in *Bull. Nap.* n. s. I (1853) 133 f.; VI (1854) 153 f. and *Le prime raccolte d'antiche iscrizioni* 58; Jordan, *Arch. Zeit.* XXVI (1868) 93; Beloch 126; Dubois, 201 f.

side near the sea. Beloch, therefore, followed by Dubois, puts the temple on the western side of the church called *Purificazione a mare*, but somewhat higher up (1).

Two dedications, reported to have been found at Puteoli, belong to this cult; they exhibit nothing of importance and contain merely the names of the dedicators (2). A citizen of this place L. Aurelius Pylades, the actor of pantomimes, who flourished under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, was a prominent member of one of the actors' associations, the *parasiti Apollinis*. On a pedestal from Puteoli he is called their patron and priest (3). But this society probably modelled after the associations of Greek artists who stood under the protection of Dionysus, had its seat in Rome, where its members were concerned especially with the dramatic performances of the *ludi Apollinares* (4); hence it is not to be considered with Walzing as a local society of Puteoli or as having a branch here (5). The priesthood held by Pylades belonged to Rome, while the dignities granted him at Puteoli are expressly associated with his town later in the inscription.

CERES.

The cult of Demeter along with Cora may without hesitation be ascribed to the city from its foundation both because of its early dependence upon Cumae and by reason of the wide prevalence of Demeter worship and the mysteries gener-

(1) Beloch 131; Dubois, *Cultes et dieux à Pouzzoles* in *Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist.* XXII (1902) 25.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1544: Apollini sacrum. Q. Trebellius Restitutus fecit. *C. I. L.* X, 1545: Sacrum Apollini. C. Ratinius Firmus. Mommsen suspected without sufficient reason that both inscriptions came from Cumae. Cp. Dubois, *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 24.

(3) *N. S.* 1888, 237=*E. E.* VIII, 369=D. 5186=Vaglieri, 1895. For the text of the inscription see p. 117.

(4) A. Müller, *Die Parasiti Apollinis* in *Philologus* LXIII (1904) 360. Cp. Mommsen, *Tre iscrizioni puteolane* in *Röm. Mitt.* III (1888) 79; Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* 62; Vaglieri, *Apollinis parasitus*, Ruggiero I, 519, Walzing, *Etude historique sur les corporations professionelles* IV, 112 gives a list of *parasiti*.

(5) Walzing, *op. cit.* IV, 181.

ally in south Italy. Her worship was doubtless accompanied by mysteries in this city as at Cumae and Neapolis (1). Under the name of Ceres the goddess continued to be popular after the period of Roman influence began. She was certainly not introduced at this time, as Dubois rightly maintains, yet Beloch, who is credited by Dubois with the opposite opinion, also admitted her presence as Demeter in the Greek period (2). This worship was officially recognized by the community and was in the hands of public priestesses (*sacerdotes publicæ*) as elsewhere in Campania. Two inscriptions perhaps of the first century A. D. allude to the office of priestess; the name of one of them Sabina appears in an epitaph; that of the other can no longer be determined (3). The position was looked upon as one of great honor, and Sabina, who attended to the preparation of her monument during her own life time, speaks proudly of her distinction. A third inscription contains the name of a priestess Stlaccia; she is styled *sacerdos Cererum* and lived at the beginning of the third century (4). By this time, however, the character of the cult had been thoroughly modified as a result of contact with the beliefs and practices of the Orient. It was now closely allied with the worship of Dionysus, and will be mentioned again with that cult when the Oriental religions are treated.

A draped statue found in this neighborhood belongs to the Ceres type and was probably designed to bear a torch. This, however seems to be a portrait statue, or at any rate was made for decorative rather than for religious purposes (5). The site of the temple is unknown; several theories, which all lack a solid foundation, are discussed by Corcia (6).

(1) Dubois, *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 27 (4).

(2) Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* 134 and *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 27; Beloch 104.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1812=Vaglieri 1907: Sabina sacerdos Cereris public. monumentum sibi uiuae fecit. *C. I. L.* X, 1829. Cp. p. 231.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 1585=D. 3366=Vaglieri 1138.

(5) Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* II, 656, No. 9; Dubois,*Pouzzoles antique* 416, No. 9.

(6) Corcia, *Di una votiva statuetta egizia* in *Atti Nap.* II (1866) 64 f.

NEPTUNE.

A great sea-port, the prosperity of which depended upon its commerce could scarcely fail to recognize the principal divinities that controlled the sea. Thus Neptune, conceived according to the attributes of the Greek Poseidon, had a place in the community. His name was applied to a portico, which Cicero used to illustrate a problem in his Academics, saying, « We see Puteoli but do not see our friend Auianus, who is perhaps strolling about in Neptune's portico (1) ». De Iorio understood this as an allusion to a portico directly connected with a temple of the god, which he located on the site of the so - called Tempio delle Ninfe west of the city, on the ground that to this point there was an unimpeded view from Bacoli in accordance with Cicero's statement (2). But in reality it seems to have stood farther east. It is marked on Bellori's plan with the words *portex Neptuni,* and was part of an extensive system of colonnades extending along the harbor, the remains of which are now for the most part under water. It was perhaps divided into sections named after leading divinities; that of Neptune is located by Beloch, following the plan, at the eastern extremity somewhere between the great mole and the church *Purificazione a mare* (3). It is probable that a temple stood in the vicinity and gave its name to this section, but no precise information is at hand. The ruin improperly called *Tempio di Nettuno* belongs to a bath. This god is also mentioned in literary notices belonging to Puteoli. When Caligula was ready to start upon his parade across his specially devised sea-bridge, he offered a sacrifice to Neptune and other gods as well as to Phthonios at the moment before he set out for Bauli to begin his triumphal march. Perhaps the sacrifice to Neptune was offered in his temple (4). De Iorio implies that Augustus sacrificed here before going against Sex. Pom-

(1) Cic. *ac.* II, 80: O praeclarum prospectum! Puteolos uidemus, at familiarem nostrum C. Auianum fortasse in porticu Neptuni ambulantem non uidemus.

(2) De Iorio, *Guida di Pozzuoli* (2) 43. Loffredo, *Le antichità di Pozzuolo* 7.

(3) Beloch 134; Dubois, 133 and *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 25.

(4) Dio Cassius LIX, 17, 4.

pey, but Appian says that the libations were poured into the water (1).

While these evidences point to a worship of the god conceived of in the Greek fashion as the sea-god Poseidon, it is probable that in earlier times he was worshipped as Neptune, a god of springs, along with the Nymphs (2). There would therefore be two main sources for his cult, which doubtless flourished accordingly in this locality. A freedman of the city L. Iunius Puteolanus was devoted to this god and made him a dedication in southern Spain (3).

HERCULES.

The legends of Hercules, which were associated with so many points along this coast, may have arrived first in the Rhodian settlement at Neapolis, borne by men of the same nationality from the vicinity of Croton. The myth of the cattle theft became most easily localized around this city, because of the presence of the numerous warm springs which had already figured in the older Argive version of this theme (4). Hercules appears but once in the epigraphical material coming from this city. A brief dedication belonging to the Republican period, which was unearthed near the Solfatara, records the manumission of a libertinus C. Marcius Alexander. He had made a vow to the god, while still a slave, and paid this with gratitude after he received his freedom (5). Cosenza has affirmed the existence of a Hercules temple, here as in other places, without evidence (6).

(1) De Iorio, *Guida* 43; Corcia, *Atti Nap.* II, 172; Appian. *b. civ.* V, 98: ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκ Δικαιαρχείας θύων ἅμα καὶ σπένδων ἀπὸ τῆς ναυαρχίδος νεὼς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνέμοις εὐδίοις καὶ Ἀσφαλείῳ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ ἀκύμοσι θαλάσσῃ.

(2) von Domaszewski, *Neptunus auf lateinischen Inschriften* in *Abhandl. zur röm. Rel.* 19.

(3) *C. I. L.* II, 1944 from Fuengirola (Suel)=D. 6914.

(4) Gruppe, *Berl. Phil. Wochenshr.* XXXI (1911) 1003. See p. 15.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 1569=D. 3427=Vaglieri 1086: Herculei sacrum. C. Marci C. l. Alex. fecit; seruos uouit, liber soluit. Herculei sacrum. C. Marci. C. l. Alex. dat.

(6) Cosenza, *Stabia,* 120 (2). See p. 232.

VENUS.

A dedication to Venus included in the collection of Fusco as belonging to Puteoli survives in a badly mutilated condition. A second fragment, which mentions this goddess along with other divinities, is included by Dubois in his evidence for this cult, but its origin is wholly unknown (1). A roof-tile, however, which was discovered here, contained the words Venerus Heruc., a strange mark for such an object, as these were generally signed with the maker's name (2). On account of the orthography and the form Venerus, the tile must be assigned to the period of the Roman republic, probably to the era immediately following the Hannibalic War. It evidently contains an allusion to the celebrated Venus of Mt. Eryx in Sicily. The cult may have reached Puteoli directly from Sicily through the ordinary channels of trade, as suggested by Dubois, but it may well have been introduced, and was at least fostered by Roman influence (3). We know that the first Roman temple in honor of this Venus was vowed in 217 B. C. and dedicated within two years, and that the goddess became extremely popular in Rome (4). Hence there is every indication that the cult was promoted chiefly by the Roman colonists who came to Puteoli during the first great wave of that deity's popularity. For a Venus Cuppedinaria, who was the patron deity of a supposed Forum with a similar epithet, there is no evidence whatever (5). Statues of Venus found in this locality have an artistic rather than a religious interest (6).

AESCULAPIUS AND HYGIA.

A shrine in honor of Aesculapius and his companion deity Hygia (Salus or Valetudo) undoubtedly stood at Puteoli. It was one of the Greek cults of the early period rather than a

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 1595: A. Comananus Ou(ii) f. Veneri d. d. *C. I. L.* X, 1605. Cp. Dubois 142.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 8042 (1). It no longer exists.

(3) Dubois, *loc. cit.*; De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* I, 200 (3).

(4) Preller-Jordan I, 151; Wissowa 290 and *Ges. Abhandl.* 9.

(5) Garucci, *Bull. Nap.* V (1846) 114; Dubois, *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 33 (5).

(6) Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique Cat.* p. 417, No. 13; 14.

late importation under Roman influence as stated by Miss Walton (1). Here were many mineral springs, recommended as specifics for numerous maladies to which the sick and infirm resorted from all directions. Such persons were naturally interested in the god of healing; to him they offered up their prayers, and if healed by any agency were wont to acknowledge the beneficent intervention of the god. Unfortunately the inscriptions that prove a cult of Aesculapius and Hygia in the region around the Bay of Naples are not always of certain origin. The only one in fact which can be attributed to this city with any degree of assurance is a short dedication in Greek, discovered according to report near the church of S. Francesco (2). It is due to one Protogenes and is addressed to both deities. Two other inscriptions may be briefly mentioned here, although it is not certain that they were connected with this city. Both exhibit the serpent as a symbol of the god, in one case it appears as a sculptured relief accompanying the inscription, in the other the inscription is itself written upon a bronze serpent. In both is seen the name of a physician Callistus, who in the first example is associated with a Greek woman. In one case the Greek name of the goddess is employed; in the second it has been translated by Salus (3). The *collegium salutare*, which is found in one inscription, is not a sacred organization connected with the worship of Hygia-Salus but a burial society (4). The god Aesculapius is represented by a colossal statue unearthed in the excavations near the amphitheater (5).

(1) A. Walton, *The Cult of Asklepios* in *Cornell Studies* III (1894) 119.

(2) *I. G.* XIV, 832=*C. I. G.* 5854; Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Ὑγίᾳ εὐχαριστῶ(ν) Πρωτογένης. Trämer, *Asklepios*, P.-W. II, 1676 rightly recognizes only the above Greek inscription as exemplifying the cult here. Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* 138 assigns without reason to Puteoli also the two Latin inscriptions mentioned below.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1546=Vaglieri 1023: Aelia Nice et Callistus medicus Asclepio et Hygeiae donu posuerunt. *C. I. L.* X, 1547: Asclepio et Saluti sacrum ex uoto Callistus d. Cp. Liv. *perioch.* XI; Hübner *Antike Bildwerke in Madrid* 208, No. 466; Vaglieri, *Aesculapius*, Ruggiero I, 316; Axtell, *The Deification of Abstract Ideas in Roman Literature and Inscriptions* 15.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 1588=D. 7388=Vaglieri 2331.

(5) Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* catalogue 417, No. 11.

NYMPHS.

Other divinities worshipped at the abundant mineral springs were the Nymphs. Pliny, speaking on the subject of springs, says that the deities of these with their various names increase the total number of gods, and gives Puteoli as an example of this tendency; he fails, however, to cite any of the names. Dubois thinks that one of them was consecrated to Silvanus and another to the Sun and the Moon, but this assumption rests upon no real evidence (1). The Nymphs are mentioned in one inscription whose origin is undisputed, - a dedication associated with the gift of a woman Ducenia Tyche, another assigned by Mommsen to Ischia and by Beloch to this city speaks of the same divinities under the form Lymphae (2). The provenience of the latter is unknown, but the second attribution seems preferable because of the fact that the dedicator A. Auianius Cilo is mentioned in another inscription that came from Puteoli (3).

The Nymphs were doubtless worshipped at several spots which were considered sacred to them because of the presence of springs. One of them has been recorded, - a cave along the sea-shore which Beloch would locate near the western end of town beyond the *Balneum Faustinae* (4). This cave is mentioned in the narration of a miraculous incident in the life of Apollonius of Tyana. While the noted philosopher and magician was imprisoned by Domitian, his friends and disciples Darius and Demetrius were discussing his fate as they walked along the beach at Puteoli. Entering finally into a shrine of the Nymphs, they continued in conversation and after a time marvelled to find their beloved teacher who had some difficulty to persuade them that he was still alive (5). De Iorio

(1) Plin. *nat.* XXXI, 4: Augent numerum deorum nominibus uariis urbisque condunt, sicut Puteolos in Campania. Dubois 138, 402 (2). Cp. Amm. XXVIII, 4, 19.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1592: Nymphis Ducenia A. f. Tyche d. d.; *C. I. L.* X, 6791: A. Auianius Cilo Lymphis u. s. l. m.

(3) Cp. *C. I. L.* X, 2133.

(4) Beloch 137.

(5) Philostratus, *Vita Apoll. Tyan.* VIII, 11: ἀπειπόντες οὖν ἐκάθηντο ἐς τὸ νύμφαιον ἐν ᾧ ὁ πίθος, λευκοῦ δ' οὑτός ἐστι λίθου ξυνέχων πηγὴν ὕδατος οὔθ' ὑπερβάλλουσαν τοῦ στομίου οὐτ', εἴ τις ἀπαντλοίη, ὑποδιδοῦσαν etc.

believed that they had a regular temple in the vicinity of Cicero's villa provided with an abundance of water. He devoted considerable space in attempting to identify it with scanty ruins west of Puteoli beyond the supposed location of Neptune's temple; but evidence for such a building is wanting (1).

BONA DEA.

The name Bona Dea is now supposed to have been applied originally to the Roman Flora and later to have been transferred to the Greek cult of Damia, which came to Rome from Tarentum and supplanted for the most part the earlier worship (2). This cult, which was most prominent in Latium, existed to some extent in Puteoli where it is attested by one and possibly by two inscriptions. The one, whose origin is undisputed, is unfortunately badly mutilated (3). The second inscription, which is carved upon a pedestal, may be mentioned here, although it is not certain to what city it belonged. It records the gift to the goddess of an image donated by a contractor C. Auillius December and his common law wife Vellia Cinnamis. A freedman of the Emperor, Claudius Philadespotus is named as priest. But he did not serve Bona Dea herself, as she was always attended by women; instead he seems to have been connected with the temple of another god, where the image in question was set up. The inscription bears the date of 62 B. C., and conforms to the principle that in this cult a woman makes the offering, or is at least associated with it except in the case of men of low social standing (4).

The question arises whether this cult was in existence

(1) De Iorio, *Guida* (2) 48; Paoli, *Antiquitatum reliquiae* Fol. 26, Pl. XL.

(2) Wissowa 216 and *Bona Dea*, P.-W. III, 686 f. Cp. Farnell III, 101 ; de Guidobaldi, *Damia o bona dea* 2 f., 87.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1548: Bonae D(.....)sacru(m.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 1549=Vaglieri 1030: C. Auillius December redemptor marmorarius Bonae D'ae cum Vell'a Cinnamide cont(ubernali) u. s. l. m., Claud'o Aug. l. Philadespoto sacerdote, posita, dedicata VI Kal. Nouembris, Q. Iunio Marullo cos. Dubois 143 (6) reads coni(uge?). Vaglieri, *Bona Dea*, Ruggiero I, 1014.

here before the arrival of the Roman colony (1). For the most part, as already suggested, the cult was confined to central Italy particularly to Latium and to a number of localities farther north such as Aquileia, so that it seems not to have been generally introduced by the Roman settlers, or at least not to have made much headway in the South. Its appearance at Puteoli is probably due in the first place to the influence of Tarentum through the channels of trade. When the Romans arrived, they recognized in the goddess of Puteoli the same Bona Dea with whom they were already familiar at Rome and whose cult was administered with Greek observances.

MINOR DEITIES.

Hephaestus-Vulcan would naturally receive appropriate recognition in a place where signs of volcanic activity existed on every hand, and was probably associated with several places along this shore. Here he was connected more particularly with the volcanic crater known as the Solfatara, which Strabo names the « Forum of Hephaestus » and Ioannes Lydus calls his « plain ». Alluding to the same deity, Silius speaks of the rumbling of Mulciber in this region (2). But there is no evidence for a regularly organized worship with a temple, nor for a festival, such as was celebrated at Athens (3). Farnell wrongly attributes to Cumae the notice of Strabo just cited as evidence for a cult there (4).

There are slight indications for a cult of Castor and Pollux. According to the sketch preserved upon the so called vase of Odemira in the Museum of Lisbon, there were two statues close to the harbor representing youths grasping a

(1) Cp. Dubois 143 and *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 34.

(2) Strab. V, 4, 6: ὑπερκεῖται δὲ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἡ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου ἀγορά.
Ioannes Lydus, *De mensibus* IV, 115.
Sil. XII, 140: son'tu lugubre minaci
Mulciber immugit laceratque uiscera terrae
mandit et exesos labefactat murmure montis.
Cp. Preller-Robert 181; Rapp, *Hephaistos*, Roscher I, 2073; W'ssowa, *Mulciber*, Roscher II, 3224: Picard, *Vulcanus*, D.-S. V, 991.

(3) Farnell V, 377 f.; Preller-Robert 180.

(4) Farnell V, 395 (20c).

spear, which have been identified as images of the great Twin Brethren (1). The Dioscuri similarly portrayed have been found upon coins, and according to reliefs upon the column of Trajan seem also to have stood at the entrance to the harbor of Ancona (2). But the presence of such figures is an evidence for a custom of adorning ancient harbors in a particular way rather than a proof for the existence of a real cult. The representation of the statues at Puteoli is accompanied by stars, which Dubois considers as another reference to the Dioscuri. He also advances the theory that this vase was a talisman borne by seamen or merchants to insure immunity from disaster and a safe and prosperous voyage (3).

Mercury is named in one inscription due to the society of *retiarii*, but the meaning is not altogether clear (4). Generally the term *retiarii* refers to one of the important classes of gladiators, who made a large use of nets in their combats in the arena. But as Mercury is not usually thought of as a patron of gladiators but rather as a promoter of business and commercial prosperity, Dubois explains the word as a reference to a body of men engaged in the manufacture and sale of nets (5). There is no improbability, however, in understanding the dedication as due to gladiators, who had some reason for honoring this god, especially since they were probably joined with another society whose name has been lost (6). The inscription is a care-

(1) Cp. the money of Nuceria discussed below p. 293. Albert, *Le culte de Castor et Pollux* catalogue 143 Nos. 115, 121, 122; Dubois, 198. One of the figures holds possibly a trident or a scepter instead of a spear. Cp. Dubois 198 (2).

(2) Strong, *Roman Sculpture* 187 and Pl. LVI; Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Trajansäule* III, 22; Cp. Taylor, *The Cults of Ostia* 26. But Reinach interprets the two figures as Hercules and Palaemon-Portunus, *Rev. arch.* V, (1905) 402, where a summary of the opinions of Benndorf, Studniczka and Fröhner appears.

(3) Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* 199 (4).

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 1589=I, 1234=Vaglieri 1155: Merc(urio) retiari[.....]dan-(dum) mag(istri) curarunt. Six names follow. Mommsen *C. I. L.* X, p. 1163, index, under the heading *magistri* says, *magistri quinque retiariorum*, but there is evidence for six names. The supplement *merc(atores)* instead of *Merc-(curio)* was advocated by Garrucci, *Bull. Nap.* V (1847) 114. Cp. Walzing, *Etude hist. sur les corp. prof.* IV, 117.

(5) Dubois, *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 33 (5). Cp. Forcellini, *Lexicon* V, 218.

(6) Walzing, *op. cit.* I, 89.

less piece of work, coarse and uncouth befitting men of the arena. A second inscription, assigned by Mommsen to Puteoli, has been treated in the preceding chapter (1).

A cult of Diana Lochia has been attributed by Dubois to Puteoli (2). But, although the inscription recording this goddess has been included by Mommsen among those belonging to Puteoli, there is no proof that this was its place of origin, and it might equally well be assigned with Capasso to Neapolis. A considerable ruin still standing on the east side of the *Via dell'Anfiteatro* has received the name *Tempio di Diana* because of the belief that a statue of her was found here (3). But considerable doubt exists about the identity of this work, which may have been intended for Magna Mater. Furthermore, other remains discovered in the same place point to the use of the structure for other purposes (4). There is really no clue to its identity.

As in other Campanian cities it is evident that Dionysus-Bacchus must have been honored and his mysteries celebrated. But the only references to the god are not concerned with a Greek cult but with one which had lost its Hellenic character under the influence of the Orientalism in its environment. They will, therefore, receive attention in another place (5). Statues and busts of Bacchus excavated in this locality are without religious significance (6). The same remark will apply to statues of other gods such as Silvanus.

Juno Gaura, the divinity of Mt. Gaurus behind the city, must be considered as a goddess of Puteoli only during the later era, after this territory became a part of the city's domain. As the place where she was worshipped was earlier subject to Capua, she will be treated in the chapter devoted to that

(1) See p. 72.

(2) Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* 142. See p. 397.

(3) Beloch 140; Dubois 359; Paoli, *Antiquitatum reliquiae* Fol. 21, Pl. XXIX, XXVII; De Iorio, *Guida di Pozzuoli* (2) 64.

(4) De Iorio, *Guida* 48; Loffredo, *Le antichità di Pozzuolo* 8; Paoli, *Antiq. rel.* Fol. 21.

(5) See p. 143.

(6) Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* catalogue 416 Nos. 6-8; 17; 18.

city (1). An inscription in honor of all the gods and goddesses was set up by T. Aurelius Protogenes. Here the polytheistic tendency is strongly manifested, although the dedicator takes the easiest means of showing his devotion to the multiplicity of divinities whom he recognizes. There is no trace of a syncretistic tendency (2).

ROMAN CULTS - OFFICIAL PRIESTS

The evidence is comparatively good here for the presence of the official municipal priests of the Roman colony. A certain individual whose cognomen was Marcellus, mentioned in an inscription of doubtful origin may have held the pontificate. This possibility is admissible, because he belonged to the tribe *Falernia* and served as a flamen of the Diuus Augustus, who had a strong cult, but such evidence by no means establishes his connection with this city (3). There is likewise a probability that the *pontifex* Iulius Flauianus belonged here. He is recorded as assigning a plot of ground to a woman for whom he acted as patron, in order that she might erect there a tomb for her son (4). Although the altar containing the notice came to light at Puteoli,it was attributed to Misenum by Mommsen, because at the former place public grants of this nature were made by the *duumuiri*, while at Misenum there is a possibility that they were made by the pontiff on the analogy of the *pontifex Vulcani et aedium sacrarum* at Ostia. But it seems more

(1) Corcia maintained that a temple of Juno Pronuba was located here, but the inscription mentioning this goddess is not considered to be authentic. *C. I. L.* X, 192*.

(2) Macchioro, *Il sincretismo religioso e l'epigrafia* in *Rev. Arch.* series IV, IX (1907) 141 f. *C. I. L.* X, 1552; Diis immortalibus deabusque omnibus sacrum. T. Aurel(ius) Protogenes.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1806=Vaglieri 1900: .....onio Sex. f. Fal. Musculo, pontifici, flam(ini) Diui Aug. praef. fabr. quaest. Iluir(o) bis, tert. quinq. l. d. d. d. etc. The index of *C. I. L.* X, p. 1150 under Puteoli is misleading as it assigns this official definitely to Puteoli. For a discussion of the tribes in which the citizens of this community were enrolled see Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* 58 f.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 3458 = D. 2856 = Vaglieri 1762 : D. m. s. T. A. Longiniano optioni ex III Venere cl. pr. Mis. Iulia Rufina mater; locus datus est a pontif(ice) Iulio Flauiano patrono.

probable that this *pontifex* who was the woman's patron, made the assignment of a piece of ground owned by himself in his private capacity. Consequently his liberality is recorded in full by her at the close of her son's epitaph.

The number of augurs here is unknown but was perhaps three or six. A fragmentary inscription commemorates the selection of a *iuuenis* Marius Sedatus as augur by the decurions (1). It has been assigned to the second century A. D. and is valuable for proving that the election of the official priests had changed in the provincial towns as in Rome. They were no longer selected at comitia, but were appointed by the local senate (2). De Petra plausibly considers that this is not an ordinary case of filling a vacancy, since there is no mention of the former incumbent, but is a selection *extra numerum* as a mark of appreciation. At the same time the new appointee seems to have exercised the full authority of his position (3). But in this case the inscription would not be good evidence for the mode of filling the position when vacancies occurred in the regular way. Another occupant of the office was the distinguished *eques* M. Gauius Fabius Iustus, who flourished in the latter half of the second century A. D. (4). To the same century belongs the famous actor L. Aurelius Pylades, already mentioned in connection with the cult of Apollo, who is named in an inscription that falls between the years 185-192. This is the only known example where the office of augur was committed to a freedman, and is a signal proof of this man's great popularity (5).

(1) *N. S.* 1885, 431=*E. E.* VIII, 372=Vaglieri 1888: De Petra, *Frammento di decreto puteolano* in *Atti Nap.* XII (1885) 63 f.

(2) Cp. the *lex Coloniae Iuliae Genitiuae;* Spinazzola, *Gli augures* 120.

(3) De Petra, *op. cit.* 66.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 1785=D. 6333=Vaglieri 1685. For the date cp. *C. I. L.* X, 1784.

(5) *N. S.* 1888, 237=*E. E.* VIII, 369=D. 5186=Vaglieri 1895: L. Aurelio Aug. lib. Pyladi, pantomino temporis sui primo, hieronicae coronato IIII, patrono parasitorum Apollinis, sacerdoti synhodi, honorato Puteolis d. d. ornamentis decurionalibus et duumuiralib(us), auguri, ob amorem erga patriam et eximiam liberalitatem in edendo munere gladiatorum uenatione passiua ex indulgentia sacratissimi princip. Commodi Pii Felicis Aug. centuria Cornelia. Cp. Mommsen, *Röm. Mitt.* III, (1888) 82; Wissowa, *'Augures,* P.-W. II,

JUPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS

The formal cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus flourished at Puteoli after the establishment of the Roman colony. Here as elsewere it was an evidence of the attachment of the colonists to the Roman state, and before the rise of the cult of the Emperors was the chief factor in the expression of loyalty toward the government. It was essentially a form of the religion of patriotism, and was a community cult rather than one that appealed to the individual, although dedications made by single private individuals have been found in this very place. Thus a marble fragment discovered in 1893 south of the amphitheater contains part of a dedication due to a freedman Gratus (1). Some work of building or restoring was performed for the god probably at this time by N. Cluuius, a man of prominence in the province, who filled municipal offices at Capua, Nola, and Caudium (2). A third inscription, belonging to the year 56 A. D., records the performance of games by the Augustales in honor of Nero and his mother, where the deities recognized are Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Genius of the colony (3).

GENIUS

The notion of a personal Genius, which showed itself so prominently among the Romans, appears but once in the extant epigraphical material; this is a brief dedication announcing

2344; Müller, *Philologus* LXIII (1904) 351; Spinazzola, *Gli augures* 136. Another augur, mentioned in an inscription of uncertain origin, possibly served in this town. *C. I. L.* X, 1685.

(1) *A. J. A. 2nd ser.* II (1898) 374: .....] l. Gratus I. O. M. sacrum. Inaccurately reproduced by Dubois 144 (2).

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1573 (cp. p. 971)=D. 6345:N.] Cluuius M'. f. IIIIuir Caudi Iluir Nolae, IIIIuir quinquennal. Capuae de suo faciund(um) coerauit, idemque restituit; Ioui O. M. sacr. Cp. Dubois 51.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1574=D. 226=Vaglieri 1114: Q. Volusio Saturn. P. Cornelio Scip. cos. Augustales qui (Neroni) Claudio Caesari et (Agrippinae) Augustae I. O. M. et Genio Coloniae ludos fecer(unt) etc. The words Nero and Agrippina have been erased. The origin of this inscription is doubtful. Its assignment to Puteoli in consequence of the mention of the Genius is probable but not certain. Cp. Dubois, *op. cit.* 40 (1).

the payment of a vow by M. Annius Macer (1). This idea developed easily into the conception that each city and individual community had its particular Genius. The worship of this guardian spirit on the part of the inhabitants of Puteoli became an easy method of showing their unity of sentiment and patriotic interest in their town. While this cult is found sporadically elsewhere in Campania, it became here a form of religion of much greater importance (2). As a vigorous cult, it kept its individuality distinct from that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, when both were used together in inscriptions, but tended to merge and coalesce with the worship of the Emperor and of the Sun. The regular designation of this deity is *Genius Coloniae Puteolanorum*. The Genius honored seems to be that of the old colony, since one inscription bears the date of 56 A. D., seven years before Nero sent out his colony (3).

Besides the combination with Jupiter treated above, a brief fragment, there are extant several more important inscriptions (4); so far as these are dated they belong to the second century A. D. A pedestal exhibits a dedication to the Genius in the interest of the Emperors Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. It bears the name of an Imperial slave who had charge of the largesses of grain which were given to the people of Puteoli and Ostia (5). Likewise to enhance the well being of the ruling family a *seuir Augustalis* Q. Aurelius Hermadion, who was evidently of foreign birth, made a joint offering to the Genius of Puteoli, specified as « a great god » and to that of his native land (6). The association of the Genius with the

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 1559: Genio uotum soluit anim(o) lib(ens) M. Annius Macer.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1574 Cp. Dubois, *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 37 and *Pouzzoles antique* 39-40.

(3) A list of inscriptions referring to the Genii of various localities both in and outside of Campania is found in Cesano, *Genius*, Ruggiero III, 469.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 1565: Gen. Col. Put. P. Acilius Hermeros. *C. I. L.* X, 1565.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 1562=D. 344: Pro salute imp. Caesaris Titi Aelii Hadriani Antonini Aug. Pii p. p. et M. Alli (*sic*) Aureli Caesaris n(ostri) Genio coloniae Puteolanorum, Chrysanthus, Aug. disp(ensator) a fruminto (*sic*) Puteolis et Ostis, l. d. decurionum permissu.

(6) *C. I. L.* X, 1567=Vaglieri 1073: Pro salute et uictoria Augustorum deo magno Genio coloniae Puteolanorum et patriae suae Q. Aurelius Hermadion, seuir Augustalis et curator eorum extruxit et donum dat. For the interpretation see Mommsen's note.

Imperial household is stated still more explicitly in an inscription prepared for one of the Imperial *libertini;* although he made the dedication nominally to the Genius, he described himself as devoted to the divinity of his patron (1). Especially conspicuous is the zeal manifested by members of the *gens* Nemonia. Two of the Nemonii, M. Tugurinus and M. Sabinus Felix joined in ordering an inscription, which formerly existed upon a sculptured pedestal. In a second inscription, which is dated 168 A. D. four members of the same family participated, including M. Nemonius Eutychianus, who will appear again as priest of an Oriental cult; in fact they seem as a family to have had a somewhat eclectic interest in religion. Both of their inscriptions address the Genius as *sanctissimus deus* (2). Finally the cult of the Genius is brought into relation with that of Fortuna as often elsewhere in a dedication made by a certain Ptolemais, who under her mother's direction offered to him an image of that goddess (3).

An inscription attesting the diffusion of the cult by means of the extensive commercial relations of Puteoli was discovered at Rusicade (Philippeville) a seaport of the ancient province of Numidia. This whole region was colonized by Campanians and the town Veneria Rusicade took its name from Pompeii (4). Naturally these people did not forget the peculiar divinities of their native land, so it is not surprising to find here a dedication in which the cult of the Genius appears. In accordance with the tendency of the times it was affected by the cult of the Emperors (5). As an evidence of the high esteem in which this cult

(1) *E. E.* VIII, 358=Vaglieri 1074: M(agno) G(enio) col(oniae) Puteolan(orum) M. Aurelius Hilario Aug. lib. numini huius deuotus d. d. d.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1564=Vaglieri 1072: Sanctissimo deo Genio coloniae Puteolanorum M. Nemoni M. fili Tugurinus et Sabinus Felix dono dant. *C. I. L.* X, 1563=D. 6320=Vaglieri 1071: Sanctissimo deo Genio coloniae Puteolanorum Nemonia Calliste Nemoni Eutychet's cum duobus M. M. Nemonis M. filiis Eutychiano et Gemelliano fratribus suis et Nemonia Ianuaria filia sua dono dant etc.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1568=Vaglieri 1069: Genio coloniae Puteolan(orum) sacr. Fortunam Ptolemais issa, curante Galeria Cyprogen'a matre. Otto, *Fortuna,* P.-W. VII, 32-33.

(4) Pais, *Ancient Italy* 202 (3) and *Ricerche storiche e geog.* 254 (4).

(5) *C. I. L.* VIII, 7959: Gen(io) col(oniae) Put(eolanorum) Aug(usto) sacr. The third word is completed to read Put(eolanae) by Wilmanns *C. I. L.*, VIII p. 684, but the regular designation is as above.

was held, Otto conjectures that the mutilated fragment cited above was dated by means of a computation of time reckoned from the dedication of the Genius of this city (1). The Genius amalgamated with Sol will be treated later (2).

Another inscription mentions a Genius Alotianus, a term of uncertain significance. According to a conjecture of Steuding this term is to be associated with the term Ἁλώτια, applied to an athletic festival at Tegea in Arcadia in honor of a solar divinity (3). Although the god honored here is dubious, the piety of the dedicator is very evident. He describes himself as the servant of the gods, and he acted, as he thought, by a divine command which he received through the medium of a dream.

Finally Dubois has cited a work of art as a possible representation of a Genius. This is a colossal herm found near Pozzuoli and now preserved in the Vatican Museum (4). Besides a number of characteristics plainly indicating a sea god, the head bears a wreath of grapes and vine leaves, which point to the connection of this deity with a coast where vineyards were abundant. The latter detail makes the identification of the figure as an ordinary sea god difficult, and recent critics of art have supposed that it is a personification of the Gulf of Pozzuoli (5). Dubois states that it represents a sort of Genius of the port, but Weizsäcker, rejecting all local identifications, sees only an image of Oceanus (6). From the point of view of religion the solution of the problem is not important, as the connection of the figure with this subject is very slight.

(1) Otto, *Genius*, P.-W. VII, 1168.

(2) See p. 157.

(3) Steuding, *Alotianus* Roscher I, 256, Cp. Ruggiero I, 424 and the etymology given by Paus. VIII, 47, 4, *C. I. L.* X, 1560=Vaglieri 1064: Ex imperio Geni Alotiani Euaristus seruitor deorum ex uiso lib(ens) an(imo).

(4) Kept in the rotunda of the Museum. Reproduced in Baumeister, *Denkmäler* II, p. 913; Brunn, *Gr. Götter-ideale* Pl. VI; Weizsäcker, *Okeanos*, Roscher III, 818; Collignon, *Hist. de la sculpt. grec.* II, 589 No. 306; Löwy, *Gr. Plastik* Pl. 158; Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 136.

(5) Helbig, *Führer* I, p. 197; Friederichs-Wolters, *Die Gipsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke*, p. 613.

(6) Weizsäcker, Roscher III, 819.

FORTUNA

The inscriptions usually cited for the presence of this cult are not conclusive because of the uncertainty regarding their provenience, and the evidence for a shrine on the heights of Pausilypum will be treated under Neapolis (1). There is, however, little doubt that the goddess had her worshippers here after the city came under Roman influence, and two statues representing her came from this region. One, which afterwards disappeared, was unearthed in the fifteenth century; the other came to light within recent times. Both seem to have reproduced the same type, which exhibits the right hand of the image resting upon a steering-oar, the left holding a horn of plenty (2). A figure upon the Lisbon vase, standing in front of a temple and holding a *patera* and a cornucopia, was regarded by Jordan as a representation of Fortuna, but this identification is probably incorrect (3).

HONOR

A temple of Honor is known from the fact that it is mentioned in the *lex parieti faciendo,* where a comparision is made between it and another structure (*portula*) which is to be erected, but no dedications addressed to the divinity have been preserved (4). The ceremonies in this branch of religion were carried out according to the Greek ritual, as is proved by the circumstance that the Roman cult was of that character (5). The name *Tempio di Onore* has been given in modern times to the remains of a little temple located between the *Anfiteatro* and the baths that bear the name *Tempio di Nettuno,* but such a designation is quite uncertain. The character of the material

(1) See p. 207.

(2) Loffredo, *Le antichità di Pozzuolo* 8; *N. S.* 1898, 291 Fig. 3; Dubois 415.

(3) Jordan, *Die Küste von Puteoli auf einem röm. Glasgefass* in *Arch. Zeit.* XXVI (1868) 95. Cp. Dubois 195; Beloch 140.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 1781 Col. II line 11=*C. I. L.* I, 577=Vaglieri 1883.... eisdem fores clatratas II cum postibus aesculnieis facito, statuito, ocludito, picatoque, ita utei ad aedem Honorus facta sunt..... etc.

(5) Wissowa 151; L. Deubner, *Personifikationen,* Roscher III, 2081.

used in the construction, brick work alone, shows that the building was put up too late to be the temple of Honor, which was in existence as early as 105 B. C., unless the present remains come from a restoration (1). This is the only example of a temple of this god outside of Rome which has left any record of its existence (2).

MINOR ROMAN DEITIES

The abstract deity Concordia is represented by one inscription, prepared for two Augustales of the *gens* Auia. This cult, which is not cited elsewhere along the Bay of Naples, was doubtless brought into close relation with the worship of the Emperor. At the same time the existence of an individual shrine is not improbable (3). The Penates, meaning doubtless the gods of some household shrine, are mentioned on a marble slab discovered near the *Via Campania* (4).

THE IMPERIAL CULT

It has already been remarked that the cities of Campania were among the first in the western part of the Empire to accord divine honors to Augustus, and this was in part explained by the presence of a large non-Roman element in the population (5). Conditions for the rise of this worship were particularly favorable at Puteoli, where the large number of foreigners, especially Asiatics, readily embraced the theory that the great ruler is divine, because such a conception was quite in accord with the beliefs and practices of their native land. The presence of the Asiatics is proved in particular by the well known pedestal of Puteoli, containing allusions in sculpture to

(1) Beloch 139; Dubois 347. A plan of the ruins is found in De Iorio *Guida* (2) atlante Va.

(2) Wissowa, *Honos*, Roscher I, 2708.

(3) C. *I. L.* X, 1551=Vaglieri 1040: Concordiae sacrum. P. P. Aui Gallinat. et Celer Augustales. The nearest instances of the cult are in Latium Adiectum at Cora, Casinum, and Fabrateria Noua. C. *I. L.* X, 6508, 5159, 5574.

(4) *A. J. A.* 1898, 375.

(5) Dubois, *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 39. See p. 35.

the chief cities of Asia Minor, which was set up and provided with a statue of Tiberius by the Augustales, because that Emperor had generously aided these cities after the earthquake of 17 A. D. (1). Here the divinities of the various localities are recognized by the presence of mural crowns (2). The number of freedmen seems to have been especially large, and many of them had become wealthy from business ventures; thus there was a favorable soil for the growth of the Augustales. The Alexandrians engaged in commerce from this port were very devoted to the Emperor and have left an enthusiastic expression of their feelings toward him whom they considered their especial benefactor (3). He did not succeed, therefore, in restraining the desire of all these people to treat him as a god during his lifetime on the same basis as Diuus Iulius, and it is not improbable that this was the first city in the West to supply him with a temple and complete machinery for a cult (4).

As generally in southern Italy the cult was in charge of the sacred *collegium* of the Augustales (5). The term *seuir Augustalis is* very rare, but occurs once or possibly twice in inscriptions which may be definitely attributed to Puteoli (6). We have no information to explain the relation which existed here between the *seuiri* and the Augustales. When the organization acted as a whole, its official name was merely Augustales, as appears on the large pedestal designed to hold the statue of Tiberius (7). It is not certain that the term *corporati* was in use here, as the notice containing it may have come from Mise-

(1) Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* 104; Spinazzola, *La base figurata di Tiberio* in *Atti Nap.* XXII (1902) 119 f. Pls. 1-3.

(2) Wissowa, *Ges. Abhandl.* 21 (2).

(3) Suet. *Aug.* 98; Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* I, 1266.

(4) Spinazzola, *Atti Nap.* XXII (1902) 133-134.

(5) Von Premerstein, *Augustales*, Ruggiero I, 859 gives a list of the inscriptions alluding to the Augustales but it contains some doubtful examples. Cp. Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* 146 f. and *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 38; Neumann, *Augustales*, P.-W .II, 2356; Mowlot, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Augustalité*, 65; von Premerstein. Ruggiero I, 829.

(6) *C. I. L.* X, 1567; 1838, A fragment. See p. 119.

(7) *C. I. L.* X, 1624=Vaglieri 1264: Ti, Caesari Diui Augusti f., Diui Iuli n. Augusto pontif. maximo, cos. III, imp. VIII trib. potestat. XXXII, Augustales. Res publica restituit. (30 A. D.).

num (1). When the members are mentioned separately, they style themselves occasionally Augustales with the addition of the name of the city, but more often the qualifying word is omitted, if they do not hold the same position in another town (2). A considerable number of inscriptions allude to a double membership. Thus Sex. Publicius Bathyllus filled the same office at Venafrum; M. Antonius Trophimus at Neapolis, and Q. Valerius Salutaris and L. Caecilius Dioscorus at Cumae as well as at Puteoli (3).

The flourishing condition of the *collegium* and the large number of its members are proved by the circumstance that it was divided into centuries, a condition of affairs for which no exact parallels can be found (4). Two centuries are known, the *Petronia* and the *Cornelia*, the names of which according to Walzing were derived from centurions of those bodies (5). De Ruggiero appears to suppose that there were a larger number of centuries than the two whose names are extant; but as five notices of these divisions of the Augustales have reached us, all of which mention only one or the other of the two names, it is evident that the number of divisions was limited to two (6). They were in existence from a very early date, as the *centuria Petronia* is mentioned in an inscription that has been assigned to the life time of Augustus and they were present as late as the reign of Commodus (7).

The *collegium* was composed wholly or chiefly of *libertini*,

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 1880, 1881, Cp. 1870.

(2) With the qualification *C. I. L.* X, 1807, 1873 and perhaps the fragment 1892; without the qualifying word X, 1877, 1879, 1551, *N. S.* 1902, 381 and perhaps the fragment X, 1876.

(3) *C. I. L.* X 1889, 1872, 690; *N. S.* 1897, 12. Cp. von Premerstein, Ruggiero I, 841.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 1873=D. 6331: A. Arrius Chrysanthus marmorarius Augustal. Puteolis duppliciar. 7Petron. uiuus sibi; *C. I. L.* X, 8178: Aug(usto) sacr. centuria Petronia; X, 1874: C. Caesonio Endiacono patri cultor. 7 Cornel. ob merita eius; X, 1888: L. Plutius Eutychio..... iuncta scholis 7 Petr[on. *E. E.* VIII, 369. See p. 117 (5).

(5) Walzing, *Etude hist. sur les corp. prof. I*, 360 (5); Dubois, 146; von Premerstein, Ruggiero, I, 834.

(6) *Centurio* Ruggiero, II, 189.

(7) *C. I. L.* X, 8178=Vaglieri 1247. Cp. Mommsen's note and von Premerstein, Ruggiero I, 834.

who had acquired considerable wealth and had attained some standing in their community, but only occasionally do they state publicly their social status (1). As members of an association which had a distinct public character they were chosen by the decurions (2). Their occupations are in some cases known. Thus M. Antonius Trophimus was a dealer in clothing, A. Arrius Chrysanthus worked in marble, Cn. Haius Doryphorus, who perhaps belonged elsewhere, was a manufacturer of dye-stuffs, while Sex. Publicius Bathyllus held the position of magistrate's assistant (*accensus*) (3). Occasionally we find in this city Augustales, who although freedman, apparently reached the higher civic offices, a combination which is difficult to explain. Thus Q. Aemilius Helpidephorus is recorded as being a decurion, although he did not surely live in this town, and Q. Laecanius Philumenus filled the office of *quaestor* (4). It is possible that the latter was only *quaestor* of the Augustales, but it is doubtful whether this office existed here; likewise in the case of the former the term decurion may be only the equivalent of the customary phrase *ornamentis decurionalibus honoratus*, or as Mommsen suggested the holder of the two offices may have been an *ingenuus*, for in northern Italy men of this class sometimes served as both *Seuiri Augustales* and decurions. But since he served as a *dendrophorus* the status of *libertinus* is more probable. In fact the leading municipal offices in certain colonies outside of Italy were filled by *libertini* and here

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 1878.

(2) Von Premerstein, Ruggiero I, 835; But cp. Mourlot, *op. cit.* 89 and the fragment *C. I. L.* X, 1890 which indicates *adlectio*.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1872: M. Antonius Trophimus August. Puteol. et Neapoli negotiator sagarius sibi et Iuliae Irene coniugi etc.; *C. I. L.* X, 1873: X, 1889: Sex. Publicius Bathyllus accensus consuli Augustalis Puteolis et Venafri sibi et Vrnineiae.....uxori etc.; X, 540: Cn. Haio Doryphoro purpurario August. duplicario uixit etc. The last inscription was found in the district of Salernum, yet on account of the appearance of the term *duplicarius* it may have belonged here. Perhaps this man was at one time a resident of Puteoli, and later moved away. For the occupations of the Augustales in other towns see von Premerstein, Ruggiero I, 841.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 1790=D.6332: D. m. Q. Aemilio Helpidephoro decur(ioni) et dendrophoro duplic(ario) qui uixit etc. The term *duplicarius* makes the assignment to Puteoli probable. *N. S.* 1902, 381: Diis manibus C. Laecani Philumeni Augus. quaest. etc.

too they may have been opened exceptionally to one of the class of freedmen; although parallels from this part of the country are lacking (1).

The officers of the organization were called *curatores*. There is no evidence for the existence here of the office of *quinquennalis*, as the inscription sometimes cited to prove its presence is really of unknown origin (2). A superior position was occupied by the *duplicarii*, who in the event of the distribution of a largess received a double portion. From the many references to the distinction the number in the class must have been large (3). It was not common elsewhere and is cited only from Tibur (4).

The amount of the *honorarium* which the Augustales were obliged to pay as a condition of receiving their appointment is not stated definitely; the inscription containing a definite sum, which is classed among the *Puteolana*, can not be attributed definitely to this city (5). The money was expended in different ways according to the decision of the decurions; sometimes several Augustales combined in performing their public service, as happened in 56 A. D. when they exhibited games (6). Though the cult of Augustus in particular and also the *gens* Iulia were the chief object to which the organization gave its attention, they sometimes honored other divinities by games, as in the example just cited, where along with Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Genius Coloniae, Nero and his

(1) Beurlier, *Le culte impérial* 207, 215; Paribeni, *N. S.* 1902, 382: von Premerstein, Ruggiero I, 841, 850; *Aedilis*, Ruggiero I, 255; Mancini, *Decuriones* Ruggiero II 1525; Mommsen *C. I. L.* X, p. 183 and *Röm. Staatsrecht* III, 454 (2); L. Taylor, *Augustales, Seviri* 'Augustales, Seviri in *Trans. and Proc. of the Am. Phil. As.* XLV (1914) 234-235.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1883. Included with the *Puteolana* by Mommsen. It is utilized by Dubois to establish the office at Puteol., but in a note is marked as doubtful. Dubois 146 (9).

(3) *N. S.* 1897, 12; *C. I. L.* X, 1873, 1875, 1886 preserve the names of duplicarii; in *C. I. L.* X, 1871 the name has been lost. Uncertain are Nos. 1790 and 1882, which might be from Cumae, provided the dignity really existed there.

(4) Von Premerstein, Ruggiero I, 850; Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 183; Beurlier *Le culte impérial* 222; Mourlot, *Etudes sur les corps. prof.* I, 112.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 1885. Cp. Mourlot, *op. cit.* 95.

(6) *C. I. L.* X, 1574. See p. 118.

mother received recognition (1). At other times the Augustales carried on building operations for the improvement of the town, constructing both sacred and secular edifices and monuments. A badly damaged fragment seems to indicate the erection of a basilica, another reports work carried on in connection with some plot of ground, a third inscription refers to a building the nature of which is unknown, finally there is the record of the statue set up in honor of Tiberius, which was mentioned above (2).

A comparatively small number of inscriptions offer any sure indication of date. Besides one which belongs to the lifetime of Augustus and the above mentioned record in honor of Tiberius, one belongs to the reign of the latter monarch (30 A. D.), another to that of Nero (56 A. D.) and a third to the period of Commodus (176-192), the latest evidence that has yet appeared.

Augustus was worshipped in a temple erected almost certainly during his lifetime by a certain Calpurnius Capitolinus, whose praenomen has been lost (3). He is generally identified with the prosperous merchant L. Calpurnius Capitolinus, whom members of his profession from Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor name in an honorary inscription. If this supposition is correct, it offers a good indication of the interest taken in the new Imperial cult by men of foreign birth. The immediate cause for the construction of this shrine was perhaps certain measures emanating from the Emperor, which built up the commerce of Puteoli (4). The architect was L. Cocceius Auctus, who is probably the same individual cited as the builder of the passage between Lake Avernus and Cumae (5).

These inscriptions were discovered on the site of the an-

(1) Von Premerstein, Ruggiero I, 839.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1838, 1890, 1576, 1624. Cp. 1839; Mourlot *op. cit.* 96 f. See p. 124.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1613: Calpurnius L. f. templum Augusto cum ornamentis d. s. f. Cp. X, 1797; Dubois, 145.

(4) Hirschfeld, *Zur Gesch. des röm. Kaiserkultus* in *Kleine Schriften* 477 (5); Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* I, 885.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 1614=D. 7731a: L. Cocceius L. C. Postumi l. Auctus architectus. For the supplements to be made with the letters L and C compare Dessau's note. Cp. Strab. V, 4, 5 and *C. I. L.* X, 3707.

cient temple, which is now occupied by the cathedral of S. Procolo, and the second is still attached to its walls above the entrance. It stood, therefore, on the citadel in the oldest part of the city. According to Nissen its transverse axis agrees with the rising sun on Sept. 23, the Emperor's birthday. He associates this orientation with the steps taken in the province of Asia in 9 B. C. to make the year begin on this date, — an innovation which would have been well known to the founder through his Oriental connections (1). When it was transformed into a church is quite uncertain, as the latter is not mentioned before the eleventh century. The principal remains of the temple still visible are portions of a wall on the east side composed of travertine blocks and the upper sections of six Corinthian columns with a fragment of the architrave built into the wall. The bell-tower too is composed largely of ancient marble from the temple (2). A flamen of Augustus, mentioned in an inscription of uncertain provenience, is usually assigned to this cult (3). The cult of the Emperor combined with that of the Lares appears in one short inscription (4). Two others dealing with the same subject, one of which Wissowa classifies here, have been relegated to the appendix as of unknown origin (5).

Tiberius was publicly honored by the erection of statues, as has already been explained, but no evidence exists for supposing that he had a cult. As to the Emperors that followed, we have already noted an instance of honors rendered to Nero. But this Emperor did not dare to assume so large a measure of divinity as he craved on account of an omen, and furthermore we can expect little evidence in his case because of the general destruction of his monuments. Caligula and Domitian, both of whom were deified during life, were ex-

(1) Nissen. *Orientation* 292, 345; Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae* 458 beginning.

(2) De Iorio, *Guida* (2) 27; Mazzella, *Sito ed antichità di Pozzuolo* 18. Cp. the testimony of the Renaissance scholars quoted by Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, 1613; Beloch 131; Dubois 346.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1806; Dubois 145.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 1581: Laribus Aug. sacr. Wissowa, Roscher II, 1881.

(5) See p. 400.

posed to the same fortune after death (1). Dubois on the evidence of an inscription of doubtful origin assigns to Puteoli a cult of Claudius during that ruler's lifetime (2). But, although there is no reason to doubt the existence of such a cult here, it can not be regarded as proved. Nor does the supplement *ministrae* suit well the Imperial cult, and according to Hirschfeld there is a lack of evidence in the West for priests of a living Emperor designated by name (3). It is still more likely that this city was the seat of an important cult of Vespasian. He was much liked, and on various occasions showed his friendly feelings toward the inhabitants. He was commemorated, moreover, in the official name of the last colony planted here (4).

Hadrian, who died in this locality, was honored as *Diuus* in a temple due to his adopted son and successor Antoninus and had his own flamens. His memory was further commemorated by the institution of sacred games called Eusebeia, which were held at intervals of four years as a *quinquennale certamen* (5). It has been surmised that this was the same series of contests which is called *sacrum certamen iselasticum* in an inscription found at Amalfi, as it too was established by Antoninus and held at Puteoli (6). On the other hand the expression ἀγῶνες Πίοι in an inscription handed down as originating at Neapolis is undoubtedly corrupt (7). The games

(1) Tac. *an* XV, 74; Suet. *Cal.* 22, *Claud.* 11: Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39, 4; Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften* 483. Compare conditions at Pompeii where Nero had a priest. See p. 271.

(2) Dubois, 146; *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 40.

(3) Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften* 483 (4).

(4) But the inscriptions of restorations of buildings cited by Spinazzola as derived from this place come from other towns. See p. 139.

(5) *Vita Hadriani* 27. Nec appellatus esset deus, nisi Antoninus rogasset. Templum denique ei pro sepulchro apud Puteolos constituit et quinquennale certamen et flamines et sodales et multa alia quae ad honorem quasi numinis pertinerent. Artemidorus, *Oneirocr.* I, 26. Mazzella, *Sito ed antichità di Pozzuolo* 71.

(6) *C. I. L.* X, 515=D. 340=Vaglieri 1315: Imp. Caesari.....constitutori sacri certaminis iselastici, socii lictores populares denuntiatores Puteolani. In Greek ἀγὼν εἰσελαστικός.

(7) *I. G.* XIV, 749=*C. I. G.* 5810. Cp. Kaibel's note; Conze, *Hadrianeia*, D.-S. III, 2; Beurlier, *Le culte impérial* 163. Beurlier not only makes the ἀγῶνες Πίοι equal to the Eusebeia but also considers that both were in honor of Antoninus. Cp. Dubois, 96.

in honor of the deified Hadrian are known through many inscriptions recording the victories of winning athletes, which have been discovered at Naples and in various other localities (1). Among the numerous games celebrated throughout the Roman world during the era of the Empire, they seem to have taken a high rank. No further details relative to them have been preserved except the name of the victor in the first contest for flute players, P. Aelius Antigenes, who later became a demarch at Neapolis (2). An important inscription dealing with the Tyrian merchants established at Puteoli records expenditures made by them for a certain contest. Some of the commentators have regarded this as a reference to the Eusebeia (3). But the latter seems to have been called definitely by its precise name in all cases, and the games supported by the Tyrian merchants were probably another series of minor importance at which the sacrifice of oxen formed an original and characteristic feature (4).

Antoninus Pius himself had a temple here, evidently a commodious structure, where meetings were sometimes held. It is mentioned only once, in an inscription dated 187 A. D. (5). Beloch conjectured that the front of the temple upon the Lisbon vase was a representation of this shrine and that the standing figure seen there was that of Diuus Antoninus (6).

ORIENTAL CULTS.

No city of Italy offered more fruitful soil for the propagation of the Oriental cults, and in no other place of similar

(1) *I. G.* XIV, 737, 739, 1102.; *I. G.* III, 129; *I. G.* VII, 49; *C. I. G.* 1720. A list of games held elsewhere is found in Conze, D.-S. III, 2 and Stengel Ἀδριάνεια. P.-W. VII, 2165.

(2) *I. G.* XIV, 737; Beloch 118.

(3) Mommsen, *Berichte der sächs Gesellschaft der Wiss.* II (1850) 61 (1)= *Ges. Schr.* VIII, 12 (6); Walzing,*Etude sur les corp. prof.* III, 443; Kaibel, *I. G.* XIV, p. 221.

(4) Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae* II, p. 289; Ignarra, *De palaestra Neapolitana* 229; Dubois 95.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 1784=D. 6334.

(6) Beloch 140. See pp. 122, 135.

size were these religions so completely represented (1). Among the various means by which they secured a foothold here, commerce took a leading place. Some of them, it is true, were greatly fostered by the presence of many Asiatic sailors at the neighboring harbor of Misenum, but in most cases the initial impulse for their establishment and their main support came from the many persons of Oriental birth who were associated with the city for commercial reasons. A good indication of the character of the population with which the city teemed is derived from the phrase *Delus minor,* which Lucilius applied to the city (2). That island itself was thoroughly cosmopolitan and was filled especially with devotees of the various Syrian divinities; after its fall Puteoli was supreme in this field. Its only rival was Ostia, which, however, was much later in its development.

The floating population of mariners and traders with whom the city was constantly filled was largely composed of men from the East, and Orientals destined for the various parts of central and northern Italy and Rome itself long used this city as their port of entry. More important was the continuous residence for long periods of Orientals who had charge of the warehouses, and were connected in various capacities with the intense commercial life that centered here. Such men not only set up sporadic dedications at the instigation of some omen or dream but also built shrines, installed priests, and formed societies devoted to their own favorite cults. The societies were both religious and commercial in their character, like those that had existed earlier at Delos and the Piraeus and those of the Middle Ages which the Europeans formed in Alexandria (3).Often they were the owners of valuable property. These religions had been making themselves felt as early as the beginning of the second century B. C. and rapidly increased in influence. In fact they made a strong appeal likewise to those of Italian birth, who being often in a

(1) Beloch 114 f.; Dubois 83 f.; Wissowa 88.

(2) Lucil. III (edition of Marx I p. 10).

(3) Yver, *Le commerce et les marchands dans l'Italie méridonale,* 193-195; Heyd, *Geschichte des Levanthandels im Mittelalter* II 427 f.; Movers, *Das phönizische Alterthum* III, 115.

condition of misery and suffering, felt that the new cults offered them a consolation and a hope never dreamed of amid the exercises of the formal religion of the state. Among the great number of foreign forms of worship that had branches here those of Semitic origin were most numerous, as their influence was brought to bear not only from Asia but also from Africa.

EGYPTIAN DEITIES.

Perhaps the earliest of the foreign religions to secure a foothold at Puteoli was that of Egypt. This became known in various ways. In the first place there was much direct intercourse between the city and Egypt, accompanied by the sojourn of citizens of each locality in the territory of the other. Alexandria in fact more than any other city carried on trade relations with Puteoli (1). Egyptian influence also made itself felt at second hand through the medium of Delos and Sicily, where the worship of the divinities of that land was practiced at an early date. The latter was important as an intermediate station between Alexandria and Italy, and the former as explained in the first chapter contained many sojourners from Campania (2). The *lex parieti faciendo* already cited elsewhere mentions a temple of Serapis as standing in the year 105 B. C. (3). The probabilities are that it was not entirely new at that date; indeed the temple of the Egyptian gods at Pompeii seems to go back to the second century B. C., and there is no doubt that the one here is still older than it, because the opportunities for the introduction and development of the cult were much more favorable than at any other point. At all events it must have been in existence at this place

(1) Lumbroso, *Recherches sur l'économie politique de l'Egypte sous les Lagides* 156-157; Lafaye, *Hist. du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie hors de l'Egypte* 43.

(2) Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens im Altertum;* Homolle, *Les Romains à Délos* in *Bull. corr. hell.* VIII (1884) 152 and *Fouilles de Délos* in *Bull. corr. hell.* VI (1882) 321, 323, 339, 341; Ciaceri, *Culti e miti nella storia dell'antica Sicilia* 259 f.; *Cic. Verr.* II, 160; Lafaye, *op. cit.* 37; Dubois 148. See p. 31.

(3) See p. 122.

from the time that the city began to assume importance as a port of entry. Epigraphical evidence for its presence during the Empire is meager. An inscription, whose source is not altogether clear, records that the colonnade of the temple of Serapis was restored and its entrance beautified in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The work was done at the cost of a certain Sex. Pompeius Primitius and his son in consequence of a vow made for the safety of the Emperor (1). Another vow made to Serapis at an uncertain date by Herennius Claudius Priscus, an officer of the second legion, was paid by the dedication of an offering (2). In the first instance the god is designated as *magnus deus* in accordance with a common form of address especially for divinities of foreign origin; in the second he is qualified as *dominus*, a term seldom applied to the gods and not cited elsewhere for Serapis. According to Lugli its use in this way is only found in inscriptions of a late period (3). Mention of the temple ceases after the second century A. D., and there seems to be no proof for the assertion that it was in existence in the fourth (4). Although there is no doubt that Isis was much honored, no epigraphical or literary evidence on this point has come down to us. An inscription dealing with this cult, which Beloch is inclined to attribute to Puteoli, belongs more properly to Neapolis, as the name of the dedicator occurs elsewhere in inscriptions of that city (5). An epitaph of M. Antonius Isidorus, a *pausarius dupliciarius*, is cited by Dubois as one of the evidences

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 1594. Voto suscepto pro salute Imp. Caes. M. Aurelii Antonini Pii felicis Sex. Pompeius Primitius cum M. Virofurcio fil. columnas cum epistyl'o deo magno Serapi idemque introitum exornauerunt. The name Virofurcio is marked in the index of *C. I. L.* X as dubious or corrupt. The inscription, depending solely on manuscript copies, is sometimes assigned to Brixia. Its attribution to Puteoli is defended by Henzen, *Hermes* III (1869) 173.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1593; ,,,,,,Herennius M. f. Claudius Priscus primipilaris leg. II tr. fortis, patronus munic. uoto suscepto domino Sarapidi d. d. The origin of this inscription is not free from doubt.

(3) Lugli, *Dominus*, Ruggiero II, 1955 f.; Vaglieri, *Deus*, Ruggiero II, 1721.

(4) Dubois 149.

(5) Beloch 53; *Dubois* 152 and *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 53 (1); *I. G.* XIV, 719, Cp. *I. G.* 795. See p. 215.

for this form of religion. It appears that such priests had a part in the musical services of Isis, but Ferrero and Dessau, referring to Seneca, more plausibly explain the reference as an allusion to an official who regulated the movements of the rowers on shipboard (1).

Various works of art attest the prominence of Serapis and his companion deities. A statue found in the Macellum exhibits a common conception of the god. He is seated upon a throne and wears a long *chiton*. Upon his head appears a calathus; the left hand is upraised to hold a scepter, the right rests upon the hound of Hades (2). A small bust of the god shows again the head adorned in a similar way (3). The standing figure portrayed at the temple entrance upon the Lisbon vase has been identified by Studniczka with great probability as a likeness of Serapis in the capacity of sun god. The attributes upon which the identification is based consist of a *calathus* on the god's head with a crown of rays around it, a horn of plenty in one hand and a vessel for libations in the other. An altar and another object perhaps a steering-oar complete the details portrayed. Studniczka conjectured further that this type of the deity represents the principal image in the shrine at the time that the vase was made (4). Another work of art alludes to Anubis, and the fragment of a statuette of a *pastophorus* is described as having been found in the ruins of a small shrine destined for the service of the Egyptian gods (5).

(1) Sen. *epis.* 56, 5; Ferrero. *Bull. épigr. de la Gaule* V (1885) 277; *E. E.* VIII, 383=D. 2867; Dubois 152. Cp. Forcellini, *Lexicon* IV, 540.

(2) Gerhard und Panofka, *Neapels antike Bildwerke* 23, No. 68; Finati, *Il real Museo Borbonico* I (2) p. 52 No. 68; Rüsch, *Guida del Museo di Napoli* 188; No. 705; Lafaye, *Hist. du culte des divin. d'Alexandrie* 273, No. 33; Dubois 415, No. 1; Reinach, *Répertoire* I, 440, No. 2; Clarac, *Musée de sculpture* Pl. 751, No. 1851.

(3) Dubois 414 cat. No. 3; Matz und von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom* I, 10, No. 39.

(4) In Wiegand's article *Die puteolanische Bauinschrift* in *Jahrb. für Phil. und Päd.* Supplementband XX (1893) 696 f.; Dubois *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 49 f. and *Pouzzoles antique* 195. Wiegand and Dubois give references to similar representations of Serapis on coins.

(5) Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique*, cat. 415, No. 3. and *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 54 (3); De Iorio, *Guida* (2) 86.

An interesting lamp having the shape of a small boat contains figures of Serapis, Isis, and Phtha-Hephaestus. The head of Serapis is covered with rays and the name Helioserapis is applied to him, thus indicating a tendency to identify Serapis with the Sun; the latter, however, is also depicted separately as a radiant head (1). In the company of the Egyptian deities is portrayed one of the Dioscuri with his steed, and above occurs the word *Euploia* in reference to the efficacy of the horsemen in calming the waves (2). Isis and Serapis, therefore, seem to be associated with the Dioscuri as patrons of navigation and lords of the deep sea, a conclusion supported by the form of the lamp, the circumstance that it was found in the harbor, and the fact that Isis was one of the important sailors' divinities. Apuleius has left an account of a spring festival connected with the opening of navigation, the chief feature of which was a procession in honor of Isis, where lights were borne by the participants. A gold lamp in the shape of a boat was carried by the chief priest, while the devotees of the goddess were supplied with others of ordinary material but of the same form (3). Hence it has been conjectured with considerable probability that the lamp of Puteoli was designed for this purpose (4).

The ruins now considered to belong to a *macellum* were for a long time regarded as the temple of Serapis because the statue of the god described above was found here (5). From the vague indications preserved in the *lex parieti faciendo* it appears that the temple was located in a street adjacent to an open space (*area*) there mentioned, which was itself not far

(1) Lafaye, *op. cit.* 304, No. 132 repeated by Dubois 437, No. 96; Albert, *Etude sur le culte de Castor et Pollux* 168, No. 236; *I. G.* XIV 2405 (48). Cp. Drexler, *Helioserapis* Roscher I 2026. Portrayed by Champfleury, *Gaz. des beaux arts* XVI (1864) 54; Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery* II, 403 Pl. 63 (1). For the identification of Serapis and Sol see Macr. *sat.* I, 20, 13-18. Cp. Gruppe, *Jahresber, über die Fortschr. der class. Altherhumsw.* CXXXVII (1908) 507.

(2) Albert, *op. cit.* 63.

(3) Apul. *met.* XI, 9-10.

(4) Dubois 151.

(5) This erroneous view seems not to have been abandoned by Albert, *op. cit.* 62 nor by Trede, *Das Heidentum in der röm. Kirche* I, 109. The latter thinks that the sanctuary here served as a dream oracle.

from the sea and apparently separated from it by few, if any, buildings (1). The sanctuary was, therefore, situated in the harbor district and was convenient for the use of the Alexandrian tradespeople, who would have a paramount interest in it. The stone containing this enactment was discovered in the sixteenth century near the church of S. Stefanino di Pontone, whose location has been forgotten. This is thought by Wiegand to have been situated near the mole and to have derived from it the appellation *Pontone* from the fact that the mole was called popularly *Ponte di Caligola* (2). The law was doubtless posted up in connection with the building operations which it describes; hence, if the *area* lay in this district around the harbor, it would give an approximate location for the temple and identify it definitely with the vicinity of the port. Another meager indication for its situation is afforded by the Lisbon vase, which shows it between the amphitheater and the mole and near the theatre. Probably it was not far removed from the building erroneously identified with it as *Tempio di Serapide*. Wiegand located it more precisely a little to the south of this building near the landing from the mole. This location is in harmony with the dictum of Vitruvius that the shrine of this god ought to be situated in the emporium (3).

The area or court already mentioned was fitted up for religious uses. Originally it was connected with a dwelling-house and entirely closed to the street. But as a result of the building operations here described its relation to the adjoining properties was completely reversed. Provided with an entrance to the street and walled up on the other sides, it became a public court used as a sacred enclosure to contain altars brought from a certain field. Wiegand believed that it was put under the protection of Serapis, whose temple was across the street (4).

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 1781=Vaglieri 1883; Lex parieti faciendo in area quae est ante aedem Serapis trans uiam .....In area trans uiam paries qui est propter uiam.....ex eo pariete antas duas ad mare proicito.

(2) Wiegand, *Jahrb. für Phil. u. Päd.* Sup. XX (1893) 668, 696.

(3) Vitr. I, 7, 1.

(4) Wiegand, *op. cit.* 710. A plan of the area is found on plate I at the end of the volume containing his article.

An Egyptian god Nephtho probably the same as Nephthys is mentioned in a *defixio* along with the great Hebrew divinity. Though the form Nephtho is rare, its equivalent is frequently met in inscriptions of this type (1).

MAGNA MATER.

When the goddess first made her influence felt at Puteoli is uncertain, as no definite information is obtainable. It must have been at a comparatively early date immediately after the close of the Hannibalic War, when the city's commercial importance began. From that time on a stream of Asiatics found their way to the Italian coast. The influence of the merchants of Asia Minor in the first century A. D. has already been noted in connection with the honorary statue of Tiberius, which the Augustales erected in commemoration of his philanthropy exercised in that province (2). In fact the number of immigrants from Asia Minor was probably not much below that of the Semites who came from the districts farther south. Graillot conjectures that this goddess was introduced by merchants of Cyme who had settled here, but there seems to be no particular reason for selecting this city rather than any other (3). In spite of the evidence for this influence in the propagation of the cult Dubois denies that its presence here was due to commercial reasons (4).

As Puteoli at the height of its activity was inhabited by a heterogeneous crowd of many nationalities constantly shifting and changing and was without the restraining influences of conservatism, the new religion probably developed more rapidly than elsewhere. In later times it may have been stimulated to some extent by the presence of the fleet at Misenum, but was naturally less affected thereby than the cult at Baiae (5). There are no records for this cult during the

(1) Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln* 8; Drexler, *Nephtho, Roscher*, III, 188.
(2) See p. 124; Dubois 104.
(3) Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, 430.
(4) Dubois 152
(5) See p. 87.

Republic or the first century that followed; Spinazzola strangely cites an inscription regarding the restoration of a temple which took place during that period but it belongs to Herculaneum (1). Yet there is every reason for supposing that the cult attained an unusually flourishing condition and developed sooner than in such a community as Herculaneum, where it was provided with a temple in the first century A. D. At Puteoli it connected itself especially with the warm springs (2).

Dubois, following the lead of Beloch, has doubted the presence of a temple of this goddess at Puteoli, and has admitted the possibility that her adherents in this community utilized the sanctuary at Baiae for their ceremonies and devotions. The considerations which prompted Beloch to advocate the theory of one body of *dendrophori* composed of the citizens of both Cumae and Puteoli, have already been examined and pronounced unsatisfactory (3). It is much more probable that there were two associations of *dendrophori*, one for each town, both of which consulted their respective local senates in case of need. In fact an example of such a consultation discussed below is still in existence. It is not, however, possible with Graillot to take this record and use it to prove the existence of two bodies (4). For in the case of the erection of a statue in Puteoli, the *dendrophori* would need to consult only the decurions of that town, although they themselves might be composed of residents of both Cumae and Baiae (5). Furthermore it is possible to assume that two bodies existed, but that they were dependent upon a single shrine, and there is no evidence at hand which wholly disproves such an assumption. Yet according to all probability there was a temple here long before the one at Baiae was built.

(1) Spinazzola, *La base figurata di Tiberio* in *Atti Nap.* XXII (1902) part 2, 135 (3). A similar inscription belonging to Neapolis is also assigned incorrectly to Puteoli.

(2) Graillot, *Mater Deum Salutaris* in *Mélanges Cagnat* 224. Cp. Plin. *nat.* XXXI 2, and p. 111 of this work.

(3) Dubois 153 (1). A more plausible view by the same scholar is expounded in *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 35. See pp. 90-91.

(4) Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* 432'. Cp. however 270.

(5) See p. 92.

It is indeed inconceivable that a place like Puteoli, where the cult manifestly developed early and had every opportunity to flourish, should lack its own shrine (1).

Although no mention of a priest has yet been found, two inscriptions refer to the *dendrophori*. One is the epitaph of Q. Aemilius Helpediphorus already cited, who besides being a *dendrophorus* was an Augustalis, and even became decurion (2). The second alludes to the organization collectively and gives a bit of interesting local information belonging to the year 196 A. D. The members had erected a statue for a benefactor M. Octauius Agatha, and were now consulting the decurions about an appropriate inscription to attach to the monument (3). They undoubtedly held at this time an entirely respectable and even important position in current civic activity. Yet one must not attach too much importance to the use of such a term as the *honestissimum corpus* here employed. When due allowance is made for the growing tendency to use high sounding expressions and meaningless superlatives, the phrase has no special value such as is attached to it by Graillot for proving the status of the association (4). The value of the inscription depends upon its reference to the relations existing between the *collegium* on the one side and the local senate on the other. That the former was to some degree dependent on the latter is highly probable, but as explained above the value of the inscription is more apparent than real for the elucidation of this relation. Just as the consultation of the decurions at Puteoli rather than of any other town was determined by the location of the statue, so the

(1) Cp. Dubois, *Mélanges, loc. cit.*

(2) C. I. L. *X*, 1790.

(3) C. *I. L.* X, 1786=Vaglieri 1887: C. Domitio Dextro II L. Valerio Messala Thrasia Prisco cos. VI idus Ianuar. in curia basilicae Aug. Annian. Scribundo : dfue unt A. Aquil'us Proculus..... Quod postulante Cn. Hatio Pudente, o(rnato) u(iro) de forma inscriptioni danda statuae quam dendrophor(i) Octauio Agathae p(atrono) c(olon'ae) n(ostrae) statuerunt, Cn. Papirius Sagit a et P. Aelius Eudaemon iiuir(i) rettulerunt q(uid) d(e) e(a) r(e) f(ieri) p(laceret) d(e) r(e) i(ta) c(ensuerunt). Placere uniuersis honestissimo corpori dendrophorum inscriptionem; quae ad honorem talis uiri pertineat dare quae decreto..... inserta est.

(4) Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* 431.

possibility that it was erected on public land may account for any consultation at all (1). It is noteworthy here that the name of the town is not used formally to qualify the *dendrophori* (2).

The name of a *caernophorus* is preserved in an inscription which can not surely be assigned to Puteoli. It is the epitaph of Heria Victorina, who probably belonged to a well - to - do freedman's family (3). This maiden was evidently a kind of deaconess or assistant of the priests who were connected with the temple of Magna Mater. Her duty was to bear the sacred lamps and assist generally in the ceremonies (4). The employment of women in this position seems to have been a specialty of the religious communities of the West (5). It is probable also that the *religiosi* mentioned in an inscription found north of the city near the village of Marano (Madonna del Piano di Quarto) belonged to the worshippers of this goddess rather than to the adherents of any other similar cult. According to Graillot they were initiates who aspired to the highest place in the cult by certain ceremonial practices and outward marks of devotion without attempting to withdraw from the activities of the world (6). At Puteoli they owned an *ager*, which was either a cemetery or a plot of ground fitted up for the enjoyment of the members. It was adorned with a colonnade and provided with seats by C. Iulius Aquilinus, a rich devotee of the cult (7).

In the sixteenth century a statue of the goddess in a mutilated state was discovered on an estate known as the Villa Cordiglia, which belonged to the Palatine quarter lying near

(1) Graillot, *op. cit.* 270.

(2) Maue *Die Vereine der fabri, centonarii und dendrophori im röm. Reich.* 48 (5).

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1803=Vaglieri 1905: Heriae Victorinae caernophoro M. Herius Valerianus filiae dulcissimae .

(4) De Ruggiero, *Caernophorus*, Ruggiero II, 12.

(5) Graillot, *op. cit.* 253. For the prominence of women generally in the Oriental cults see Maué, *op. cit.* 35.

(6) Graillot 283-284. Citations of the term *religiosus* occur 283 (7).

(7) *C. I. L.* X, 1894; Ager religiosorum. C. Iulius Aquilinus porticus et sedilia de suo extruxit. Graillot 431; Dubois 152; De Marchi, *Il culto privato* II, 106.

the highway joining Puteoli and Cumae. It was accompanied by the fragments of a lion or lions that had stood at her feet (1). Whether these figures formed the cult statue of a shrine or at least a dedicatory offering belonging to it, or were merely decorative sculptures of the *Thermae* close by, with some slight allusion to Magna Mater as a goddess of water, remains uncertain, but the latter opinion is the more probable. A second statue, identified by the presence of a turreted crown, was found broken in many pieces (2). A bronze votive lamp such as doubtless burned in the temple contains an inscription in the form *Matri Magenae* (3).

BELLONA.

Somewhat similar to the Mother of the gods but exhibiting a much more somber and fearful aspect was the Oriental Bellona, originating at Comana in Cappadocia, who was confused by the later Romans with their native goddess of that name (4). C. Aninius, an adherent of this cult, is mentioned upon a marble fragment found in the *Via Solfatara,* and it is probable that a shrine was erected here, modelled like the one in Rome after the temple at Comana (5).

There is no extant record of the performance of a taurobolium in this connection; the ceremony seems, however, to have been received into the ritual of this cult earlier than into the rites of Magna Mater (6). There were at Puteoli plenty

(1) Palladini, *Descrizione di un sepolcreto etc.* 14; Dubois 418, No. 16; Graillot 432.

(2) Loffredo, *Le antichità di Pozzuolo* 8; Dubois, cat. 418, No. 15.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1587: Ascelapiades (*sic*) Matri Magenae (*sic*) d. d. l. m. A statuette of the goddess of unknown origin in the National Museum at Naples may have come from Puteoli: Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen* 533; Reinach, *Rép. de la stat. gr. et rom.* II, 271, No. 2.

(4) Réville, *La religion à Rome sous les Sévères* 69; Vaglieri, *Bellona,* Ruggiero, I, 988; Aust, *Bellona,* P.-W. III, 255 f.; Maué, *Die Vereine d. fabri* etc. 23; Preller-Jordan II, 386.

(5) *A. J. A.* 2nd ser. II (1898) 390: C. Aninius————Bellonae sacrum. The dedications to Bellona are collected by Vaglieri, Ruggiero I, 988.

(6) Cumont, *Le taurobole et le culte de Bellone* in *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. rel.* VI (1901) 102.

of gladiators, slaves and others of the lowest ranks of society to whom this worship mostly appealed, and from whose ranks its priestly *fanatici* were recruited. These persons were notorious for the excesses which they committed when carrying out the ritual of their office, and often were covered with their own blood (1). Three of these priests, who were members of an actors' association, along with other individuals of the same fraternity are mentioned in a *graffito* on the wall of a Pompeian hotel. They describe themselves as *fanatici a puluinare Synethaei*, which is apparently an allusion to some shrine prepared by a certain Synethus, and also as *sodales* of the company of Anicetus, who elsewhere in an inscription of Puteoli is recorded as being an actor (2). It seems probable, therefore, that the *fanatici* named here were devotees of Bellona, that they were lodging temporarily at Pompeii, and that in part at least they were residents of Puteoli.

THE ORIENTAL LIBER.

The cult of Dionysus-Liber already existent in the Republican period was modified or supplanted by the influence of the Orient. A new system of rites affected by the Asiatic cults and especially by that of Magna Mater made their way into Italy; in Rome itself they found a hospitable reception from the time of Julius Caesar and were zealously fostered by Septimius Severus (3). The revival of the Dionysiac mysteries under Oriental influence seems to have taken place in the chief ports in the second century A. D. as they were flourishing greatly at Puteoli at the beginning of the third (4).

(1) De Ruggiero, *Fanaticus*, Ruggiero III, 33; Samter, *Fanaticus*, P.-W. VI, 1986.

(2) *C. I. L.* IV, 2155=D. 4181b=Vaglieri 1866: C. Cominius Pyrrhicus et L. Nouius Priscus et L. Campius Primigenius, fanatici tres a puluinare Synethaei (*sic*) hic fuerunt cum Martiale sodale Actiani Anicetiani Sinceri; Saluio sodali feliciter. Cp. *C. I. L.* X, 1946 and Zangemeister, *Bull. Inst.* 1865, 179; *C. I. L.* VI, 490 contains the expression ex aede Bellonaes puluinensis fanaticus.

(3) Serv. *ecl.* V, 29; Dio Cassius LXXVI, 16, 3; Wissowa 303 and Liber, Roscher II, 2028.

(4) Dubois, *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 27 and *Pouzzoles antique* 137; Taylor, *The Cults of Ostia* 31.

This worship was closely associated with the cults of Isis, Mithras and Magna Mater, so that the same person often acted as priest for more than one of these deities (1). At Puteoli the new cult seems to have modified the older cult rather than to have usurped its place; at any rate as in the old, purely Greek mysteries, the god was closely associated with Ceres, the chief mystery goddess of the earlier epoch. A badly damaged inscription records the fact that Stlaccia, a priestess of the Cereres, apparently at the beginning of her term of office made a donation to the *thiasus Placidianus* (2). From the mention of the names of Caracalla and Geta it has been dated in the period 200-209 A. D., in the reign of Septimius Severus (3). The attendant of the god is an Italian as is indicated by her name, but has evidently become interested in the religions of the Orient. How much the cult which she herself served had been modified by the ideas and ceremonies imported from the East is uncertain, nor is the exact significance of the term *Cereres* understood. The use of this word is confined to Africa with the exception of the present instance (4). Most commentators have considered that it represented the two deities Ceres-Demeter and her daughter Persephone (5); Birt, however, saw an allusion to the Greek and Roman forms of the same goddess, and more recently Audollent has argued in favor of an interpretation that

(1) Wissowa 304. For his relation to Magna Mater see Kern, *Dionysos*, P.-W. V, 1026.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1585=D. 3366=Vaglieri 1138: Pro salute (?) Imp. Caesaris L. Septimii Seueri Pii P]ertinacis Aug. et [M. Aureli Anto]nini Pii Aug. et P. Sept[imi Getae nobi]lissimi Caes. et Iuli[ae Domnae mat. Augg.] et kastrorum, Stla[ccia] ———sacerdos Cererum introit[us causa]——— thiaso Placidiano donauit——— Flauio T. f. Eclectiano sace[rdote et Stlacciis Sotere et Repar[ato———. It is possible that *Stlaccius* should be read. Avellino, *Bull. Nap.* V (1847) 113; Macchioro, *Il sincretismo religioso e l'epigrafia* in *Rev. arch.* IX (1907) 261 (3); Cp. Suet. *Claud.* 9 for the custom exemplified here.

(3) Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine* (4) 211; Dubois 134 (7).

(4) Audollent, *Cereres* in *Mélanges Cagnat* 379 (3).

(5) Wissowa, *Ceres*, P.-W. III, 1979 and *Rel. und Kult.* (2) 303; Pestalozza e Chiesa, *Ceres*, Ruggiero II, 207; Toutain, *Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain* I, 350. A more complete list of references on this subject is given by Audollent, *Mélanges Cagnat*, 359 (2).

takes account of a double divinity, one aspect of which developed from the Carthaginian goddess Tanit (1).

The *thiasus Placidianus* was a group of persons similar to the associations called *spirae* and like them devoted to the worship of Liber. It probably included women in its membership, and derived its name from some individual who was a patron or prominent member (2). While here as elsewhere the mention of these societies belongs to the time of the Empire, their first appearance in Italy may go back to the period of the persecutions of Dionysus' followers when worship even of the Greek god in a public way was put under the ban. The same inscription contains the names of two other members of the gens Stlaccia, who were apparently connected with the *thiasus*. A priest of Liber T. Flauius Eclectianus reappears in another inscription, which bears witness to the orgiastic nature of the ritual at this period. Here he is associated with his son Olympianus and both are designated as *sacerdotes orgiophantae* (3). Probably the priesthood was regularly in the hands of this family, which was of some prominence locally, as a M. Stlaccius Albinus was decurion (4). During the priesthood of the same Eclectianus an assistant with the title *parastata* appears in the person of an Imperial freedman Aurelius Draco, who offered the twenty year sacrifice, apparently an allusion to the taurobolium (5). A simple dedication to the god was the work of another freedman of the Im-

(1) Birt, *Ceres*, Roscher I, 866; Audollent, *op. cit.* 372. Cp. Toutain, *Les cités romaines de la Tunisie* 276.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, *Les associations religieuses chez les Grecs* 5; Dubois. *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 26.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1583=D. 3364=Vaglieri 1136: Libero patri sacrum. TT. Flauii Eclectianus et Olympianus fil. eius sacerdotes orgiophantae. Different titles borne by similar priests are enumerated by Wissowa, *Liber*, Roscher II, 2028; Toutain, *Liber Pater*, D.-S. III, 1190.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 1783=D. 5919=Vaglieri 1885. This inscription the date of which is uncertain is assigned by Dubois to the second century A. D., *Pouzzoles antique* 50. Erroneously assigned to the year 97 A. D. by the same writer in *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 26 (1).

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 1584=D. 3365=Vaglieri 1137: Libero patri sacrum. XX annuale T. Fl. Eglectiani sacerd. Aurel. Aug. lib. Draco parastata consecrauit.

perial family called Lupercus (1). It is undated and does not necessarily belong to the orientalized cult, but as it comes from the epoch of the Empire and addresses the god as *Liber pater*, it probably should be assigned to that variety. There is furthermore no evidence for the existence of a parallel form marked by a ritual of the old Greek style.

SYRIAN GODS - HELIOPOLITANUS.

Another Oriental cult at Puteoli was that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus, which represented an amalgamation of the tutelary deity of the Roman state and an important Semitic god of the sun. The cult of the latter had its center at Baalbek and was widely diffused through the Empire (2). As it was strong at the great mart of Delos, so it contested with fair success for a high place in the religious life of the busy Italian emporium, where it received the support especially of the merchants of such cities as Heliopolis and Berytus (3). The cult came to Italy in fact by way of trade perhaps through Delos and established itself first at Puteoli (4). The adherents of this faith from Heliopolis were grouped together into an association denominated a *corpus* (5), as appears from an inscription which is attributed rightly to Puteoli. As this term was not generally applied to religious associations in the early Empire, it tends to fix a date for this notice as late as the third century. At that time a tract of land amounting to seven *iugera* with all its buildings and other appurtenances was conveyed as a regular property to the believers of the cult of Heliopolitanus, and all persons who might have occasion to pass through it or use it were

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 1586.

(2) Dussaud, *Heliopolitanus*, P.-W. VIII, 52 f.; Macrob. *sat.* I, 23, 10 f.; Drexler, *Heliopolitanus*, Roscher, I, 1987 f.; Preller-Jordan II, 402; Perdrizet, *Jupiter*, D.-S. III, 700; Gruppe 1584 (4).

(3) Walzing, *Etude hist. sur les corps, prof.* I, 204. Cp. I, 45.

(4) C. H. Moore, *Oriental Cults in Britain* in *Harvard Studies* XI (1900) 51. Cp. Homolle, *Les Romains à Délos* in *Bull. corr. hell. VIII* (1884) 75 f.; Drexler, Roscher, I, 1990; Wissowa 364.

(5) Cp. the use of *corpus* to designate the *dendrophori* at the end of the second century A. D. De Ruggiero, *Corpus*, Ruggiero I, 1240-1241.

subject to the will of that body (1). Especially conspicuous for their zeal in the faith were a number of emigrants from the Phoenician city of Berytus (Beyrut), who are called in one place the *cultores Berytenses*. Their interest is explained by the fact that in their native city Heliopolitanus had obtained such a preeminence as to overshadow even their own god Baalim. Their activity is represented by a dedication belonging to the year 115 or 116 A. D. in honor of the Emperor Trajan, which is the oldest dated inscription for this cult (2). They were probably organized in an association like that of the merchants of Heliopolis, where religious services in honor of their favorite deity were a prominent feature (3).

The inhabitants of a third Asiatic city are probably referred to in the unknown and doubtless corrupt word *Geremellensium*, preserved in an uncouth, poorly written inscription. Though found at Naples, it belongs to Puteoli (4). Mancini believed that the town in question was Germe in Galatia, which was situated close to Pessinus, and explained the word in the inscription as the diminutive of Germenensium parallel to the known form Germenorum with the addition of a para-

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 1579=D. 4291=Vaglieri 1923. Hic ager iug. VII cum cisterna et tabernis eius, eorum possessorum iuris est qui in cultu corporis Heliopolitanorum sunt eruntue, atque ita is accessus usque esto per ianuas itineraque eius agri qui nihil aduersus lecem (sic) et conuentionem eius corporis facere perseuerauerint.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1634=D. 300=Vaglieri 1299: Imp. Caesari diui Neruae [f. Nervae] Traian. optimo Aug. Ger. Dacic. Parthic. pont. max. trib. potest. XX, imp. XII, cos. VI, patri patr. cultores Iouis Heliopolitani Berytenses, qui Puteolis consistunt. Cp. Dussaud, P.-W. VIII, 55-56. A list of *collegia* that bear the names of deities is found in Walzing, *op. cit.* I, 197. Cp. F. Lenormant, *Jupiter Heliopolitanus* in *Gazette arch.* II (1876) 79. A man of Berytus addressed a dedication at Nemausus (Nîmes) *C. I. L.* XII, 3072 = D. 4288.

(3) Walzing, *Etude hist. sur les corps. prof.* I, 224; Dubois 98 and *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 57.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 1578=D. 4290=Vaglieri 1118: Ex iussu I. O. M. Heliopolitani Aur. Theodoro sacerdote, filio, curator(i) templi Geremellensium, adampliante donis torquem et uelum sac(erdotes) et lucophori de suo posuerunt, curante Acilio Secundo Trotomias. (The readings are often extremely uncertain). Cp. Colonna, *Scoperte di antichità in Napoli* 473.

sitic vowel after the first syllable (1). This view is rightly criticized by Dubois, who follows Gildemeister in associating the word with such Semitic place names as Gamala or Gemela (Gemala), and cites the cognomen Garmalla of an Oriental at Puteoli. Although the exact place in question can no longer be determined, Dubois conjectures that it was located in the region of Mt. Lebanon, where the cult of Heliopolitanus was demonstrably strong (2). According to another interpretation the word Geremellensium does not allude to the inhabitants of a particular place but means « worshippers of God ». This, however, seems less satisfactory (3).

The inscription cited above refers to the donation of certain gifts to the shrine in consequence of a dream or some other form of divine admonition. It seems to have been due to the joint action of the priest and a company of persons called *lucophori* who had some part in the ceremonies that is now unknown. Some have connected them with the word for light and considered that they were torch-bearers; others with greater probability derive the name from the word for wolf (λύκος); although what part this animal may have played in the cult is wholly a mystery (4). A curator of the temple is attested here. Another *sacerdos* Hermianus, who had not yet entered upon the duties of his office, is named upon the fragments of a marble vase with sculptured reliefs (5). The name of an *aedituus m* [*agister?*] has also been preserved, — a species of officer not cited elsewhere in connection with this cult. Stimulated by the order of his divinity, he restored the temple at an unknown date, as it had become shabby and dilapidat-

(1) Mancini, *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei* n. s. III, 208. Coins of Germe bear the legend *Col. Germenorum*, Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum* III, 178.

(2) De Witt, *Onomasticon*, see Gamala and Gemela; Jerome, *De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum* 226, 247; Gildemeister, *Epigraphische Nachlesen* in *Zeits. der deutschen morgenländ. Gesell.* XXIII (1869) 153 (1); Dubois 98 and *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 59; Ronzevalle, *Le simulacre du Jupiter Heliopolitanus* in *Comptes rendus dell'ac. des inscr.* 1901, 482.

(3) Renan, *Une nouvelle inscription Nabatéenne* in *Jour. asiatique* seventh ser. II (1873) 384.

(4) Mommsen *C. I. L.* X note to No. 1578; Dubois, 156.

(5) *E. E.* VIII, 359. ———s Hermianus sacerdos d[esignatus?] I.O.M.H.

ed (1). He was evidently a person of wealth, holding a position of honor in the association that carried on this cult. The actual duties of his position in regard to the custody of the temple were perhaps delegated to a subordinate (2).

JUPITER DOLICHENUS.

The inscriptions generally adduced to attest a cult of Jupiter Dolichenus have already been treated under Misenum, where it seems that they more properly belong. It is, however, not at all improbable that there were enough adherents of this form of religion at Puteoli to support a shrine. The god was perhaps associated with the warm springs abounding in this neighborhood, becoming thus a rival of Magna Mater for the prerogatives earlier maintained by the Nymphs (3). In this aspect he would be regarded as a divinity with powers of healing and thus would easily become a companion of Aesculapius, with whom he was associated elsewhere. Furthermore like Aesculapius he seems to have been represented emblematically by a serpent (4).

JUPITER DAMASCENUS.

The third form of the Semitic Jupiter Optimus Maximus was qualified with the epithet Damascenus (5). This cult, originating in Damascus, attained at Puteoli a recognized standing but was perhaps never a public cult (6). It was patronized by people of means and possessed a shrine and priests. Two names of the latter have been preserved, both

(1) *A. J. A.* 1898 II, 374: Ex] iussu I. O. M. Heliopolitan[i ———aed] em dilapsam M. Ulpius Sabinus aedituus m[agister?].

(2) Vaglieri, *Aedituus*, Ruggiero I, 272.

(3) See p. 95.

(4) Kenner, *Mitteilungen der kais. kgl. Central-Comm. zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Denkmäler* n. f. II (1876) 56; Kan, *De Iovis Dolicheni cultu* 25 f. ; and list of monuments 36 No. 4 ; Dubois, 155. Cp. *C. I. L.* III, 1128, 1614; D. 2193a.

(5) Cumont, *Damascenus*, P.-W. IV, 2035.

(6) Dubois, *Mélanges* XXII, (1902) 57.

members of the gens Nemonia, one of whom, Eutychianus, was also a votary of the Genius Coloniae. He was a prominent citizen, who was raised to the rank of *eques* by Antoninus Pius and at Puteoli was a decurion and aedile (1). The second Nemonius, perhaps the father of the other, seems to have provided the means for the erection of the honorary notice; the whole body of priests in the name of their patron deity gave the action their official approval. A second inscription bearing the letters I. O. M. D. may possibly be a reference to this cult, but it belongs much more probably to the better known worship of Dolichenus, and has been treated in that connection (2).

DEA SYRIA.

The important Syrian goddess who was revered as Derceto or Atargatis at Hierapolis (Bambyce) was known to the Romans at least as early as the Asiatic expedition of Crassus (3). She was a prominent deity in the chief trade centers like Delos and Puteoli; in the case of the latter commerce played the chief part in her introduction, but the movement was no doubt assisted to some extent by the presence of slaves, as happened in Sicily (4). She may have been closely associated here with Jupiter Heliopolitanus, as at Hierapolis she was on terms of intimacy with the great god of that town (5). Her designation Dea Syria in the West appears in several forms in the extant inscriptions. Like Magna Mater she was portrayed in the company of lions, and to this custom there is an allu-

(1) C. *I. L.* 1576=D. 4326=Vaglieri 1115: Iussu Iouis Optimi Maximi Damasceni sacerdotes M. Nemonio M. filio Pal. Eutychiano, sacerdoti, honorato equo publico ab Imp. Antonino Aug. Pio p. p. adlecto in ordinem decurionum Puteolanor., aedili; M. Nemonius Callistus p(ater), sacerdos, remissa collatione. The supplement p(ater) may not be right and p(ublicus) has been suggested, Dubois, *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 57.

(2) C. *I. L.* X, 1575. See p. 97.

(3) Plut. *Crassus* 17; Preller-Jordan II, 356; Cumont, *Dea Syria*, P.-W. IV, 2239; Moore, *Oriental Cults in Britain* in *Harvard Studies* XI (1900) 49; Cesano, *Dea Syria*, Ruggiero, II, 1467.

(4) Diod. XXXIV, I, 5; Florus II, 7, 4. Cp. Hauvette-Besnault, *Fouilles de Délos* in *Bull. corr. hell.* VI (1900) 495.

(5) F. Lenormant, *Jupiter Heliopolitanus* in *Gazette arch.* II (1876) 82.

sion in an inscription engraved upon a little column, which is the only remnant of a dedication now extant from this district. Although it was discovered near Baia, it probably came originally from Puteoli. It records the gift of a *leontochasma*, a vessel in the form of a lion's jaws from which gushed forth the water of a fountain (1).

Cumont identifies this goddess with the Venus Caelestis worshipped here, and so assigns to her the taurobolic altar bearing that name, but the two divinities were probably similar rather than identical (2). Although this cult sometimes found favor in high quarters, it never became generally prominent and in the later years of Paganism had no vogue.

DUSARES.

Another Semitic god called Dusares was the supreme deity of the Nabataei, an Arabian tribe whose cult centered at the city of Petra. He was a solar deity and probably was associated with hills and mountains (3). As these people were active in the commerce between the far East and Rome, they had a trading station at Puteoli to which they brought their god. From the number of Arabian names that have been preserved here, it would seem that a large contingent of that nationality was present (4). Elsewhere in the western part of the Roman world the cult has left no traces; here the evidence points to the presence of a regular shrine as early as the end of the Republican period. According to an Aramaic inscription written in Arabian characters, a *mahramta*, which was probably some kind of sanctuary, was constructed by one of the Nabataei called Banhobal in the year 39 B. C.; later during the reign of Augustus three persons Ali, Mactai and Saidu joined in the work of restoring it in order to promote the welfare of their

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 1554=D. 4279=Vaglieri 1041: ————et leontoxasma deae d(ominae?) Dasyr(iae) posuer. Cp. Dubois, 157 (3).

(2) Tert. *nat.* II, 8; Gruppe 1585 (3).

(3) De Ruggiero, *Dusares*, Ruggiero II, 2078; Cumont, *Dusares*, P.-W. V. 1866; Meyer, *Dusares*, Roscher I, 1206; Preller-Jordan II, 403 (4); Bäthgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* 92 f.; Mortmann, *Dusares bei Epiphanius in Zeits. der deutschen morgenländ. Ges.* XXIX (1876) 99 f.; Baudissin, *Heilige Gewässer, Baüme und Höhen* in *Stud. zur semit. Religionsgesch.* II, 250.

(4) List in Dubois 101.

sovereign Harerat and his Queen (1). Although Dusares is not openly named, the nationality of the builders renders it quite certain that he was the god honored. Besides its use for worship this building probably served as a place for social and business meetings like others which were erected here by groups of foreigners (2).

A dedication belonging to the year 11 A. D. and written in Aramaic reports that Zaidu and Abdelge have set up as an offering to Dusares two camels, because he answered their prayers (3). Renan, justly objecting to the interpretation that live animals were dedicated to the shrine, proposed to understand the gifts in a general sense as thank offerings (εὐχαριστήρα) (4). But it is likely that these Arabs really dedicated camels, even though they were made only of bronze or terra cotta, and the marble of the inscription still shows holes where the images were attached to it (5).

Three pedestals still in existence bear the simple inscription *Dusari sacrum;* two of them containing this phrase upon the front and the one word *sacrum* upon the back are plausibly conjectured by Dessau to have marked the limits of a sacred enclosure (6). A fragment cited by Dubois as still legible upon a stone lying in the subterranean parts of the amphitheater exhibits the letters *Dus,* and may be part of the same divinity's name (7).

(1) *C. I. S.* II, part 1, No. 158. Translation: hoc est sacrarium quod renouauerunt....et 'Ali, faber aerarius(?) .....et Martai qui nuncupatur Zabdat ------Saidu, filius 'Abdat de suo pro uita Haretat, regis Na[bataeorum et Hul]du, uxoris eius, reginae Nabataeorum et eorum filiorum. Mense Ab anni XIV [regni eius] ------post tempus quo exstructa sunt sacraria priora, quae fecerat Banhobal, filius Bam------ [anno] VIII Maliku, regis Nabataeorum, deposuerunt in hoc sacrum--------. Renan, *Une nouvelle inscription nabatéenne* in *Jour, asiatique* ser 7, II, 366 f.; Gildemeister, *Epigraphische Nachlesen* in *Zeits. der deutschen morgenländ. Ges.* XXIII (1869) 150.

(2) Renan, *op. cit.* 381; Dubois, *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 64.

(3) *C. I. S.* II part 1, No. 157. Translation: Hic sunt duo cameli, quos obtulerunt Zaidu et Abdelge, filii Thaimu, filii Hani 'u deo Dusara, qui exaudiuit eos. Anno XX regis Haretat regis Nabataeorum qui diligit populum suum.

(4) Renan, *Note sur deux inscriptions, Journal asiat.* VII ser. I, p. 321.

(5) Dubois, *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 62.

(6) *C. I. L.* X, 1556=D. 4350 a, b, c.

(7) Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* 162.

UNCERTAIN SEMITIC GODS.

Besides the Semitic gods of Asia already discussed, there appear to be references to the divinities of two other cities whose cults are less well attested because of the fragmentary character of the evidence. A mutilated inscription, found in a spot where perhaps was located the establishment of the Tyrian merchants, contains a mention of Tyre itself and of some god who was probably the local form of Baal. On the upper portion of the stone, apparently added by a later hand are the words *sacerdos siliginius*, the significance of which is obscure (1). According to one interpretation based on Macrobius the words allude to a priest who received offerings of bread destined for the god; with this idea in mind Minervini conjectured that the deity in question was Hercules-Melquart (2). This view is opposed by Dubois on the ground that Macrobius referred to a distinctly Roman custom, and this scholar is inclined to see here a proper name, rejecting rightly the idea of Minervini that the priest in question was a servant of Ceres Mundalis (3).

The religious activity of the Tyrian merchants residing here is shown by an insciption of 174 A. D., where they request a contribution from their countrymen in Rome to meet their current expenses, a large part of which is caused by their religious duties. Here reference is made to the shrines of their ancestral deities, which needed to be maintained as in the past and provided with the requisite number of sacrifices. At this date the numbers and wealth of the Tyrian colony at Puteoli had greatly declined, and consequently they were no longer able to support the burden which custom and a feeling of obligation to their native city and its gods had laid upon them (4).

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 1601=*I. G.* XIV, 831=Vaglieri 1219: Sacerdos siliginius Tyros m[etropolis] foe[derata] Τύρος ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος καὶ αὐτόνομος Μητρόπολις Φοινείκης [καὶ τῶν κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν] πόλεων θεῷ ἁγίῳ.

(2) Macr. *sat.* III, 11; Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. V (1857) 92.

(3) Dubois, *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 58 (1) and *Pouzzoles antique* 157 (4).

(4) *I. G.* XIV, 830; Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae* 287, No. 595 (with commentary); Mommsen, *Ber. der sächs. Gesellschaft* V

Another fragment partly in Greek and partly in Latin alludes evidently to a Semitic solar divinity from the neighborhood of Tyre. It bears the date of May 29, 79 A. D., computed according to the Phoenician reckoning. So much of the original is lacking that the exact sense of the whole is extremely dubious; however, the gist of the matter is that a Phoenician deity was brought to Italy either as a mere image to serve the cult of certain Orientals at Puteoli or else by formal introduction accompanied by fitting solemnities to mark the establishment of his worship (1). In the second case there would be a resemblance to the arrival of Magna Mater in Rome and of Astarte in Egypt (2). There has been considerable discussion about the details of the inscription and also about some of the essentials. According to Cagnat's version, a Phoenician named Elim (Ηλειμ) conducted the god from Arepta, a city identified with the Arefa of the *Notitia Dignitatum* (3). Berger accepted this view in the main, and cited the Phoenician town of Araphat as the place mentioned in the inscription (4). A perplexing point is the word Ηλειμ, which Berger at first treated as a reference to a divinity, but afterwards admitted to be the name of a man, as had been proposed by Cagnat. Clermont-Ganneau too rejected the reference to a man and translated it as the equivalent of sacred rites, while on the other hand he believed that the name of a man was concealed in the expression Θεος---ιος. According to this version a certain Θεοσ[εβ]ιος came by sea from Sarepta to Puteoli and there

(1850) 57 f. = *Ges. Schr.* VIII, 8 f. and *The Provinces of the Roman Empire* (trans, of Dickson) II, 151 (2); Dubois 83 f.; Schürer, *Gesch. d. Juden,* (4) III, 102.

(1) *N. S.* 1891, 167 = *Comptes rendus de l'acad. des inscr.* 1901; 192: ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Λουκίου Καισε--- καὶ Τυρίοις ἔτους σδ μηνὸς Ἀρ[τεμ]ισίου ια κατέπλευσεν ἀ[πὸ] Τύρου εἰς Ποτιόλοις Θεὸς [Ἥλ]ιο(ς) Σαρεπτηνὸς ἤγαγεν[δὲ] Ἤλειμ κατ' ἐπιστολήν. Pro salute imp. Domitiani -----l(ocus) c(oncessus) [decreto-----. The original inscription now at the University of Michigan has the reading IOCAREIITHNOC.

(2) Clermont-Ganneau, *Le Phénicien Theosebios de Sarepta et son voyages à Pouzzoles* in *Recueil d'arch. orientale* IV, 228.

(3) *Notitia Dignitatum* XXXII, 39; Cagnat, *Note sur une inscription grecque de Pouzzoles* in *Comptes rendus de l'acad. des inscr.* 1901, 92.

(4) Berger, *Comptes rendus de l'acad. des inscr.* 1901, 196, 578.

performed religious ceremonies (1). Dubois with much probability thinks there is an allusion to a Helios of Sarepta (2). As this inscription was found near the *porta Erculea* not far from the place where the one referring to the Tyrian god was unearthed, it may well have happened that both were set up in the extensive establishment maintained here by the merchants of Tyre. On account of the close proximity of Sarepta and Tyre and the absence at the same time of any real rivalry, we may infer that the two bodies of merchants lived on intimate terms (3).

VIRGO CAELESTIS.

Virgo Caelestis or Urania, the great divinity of the Carthaginians, was another form of the Tyrian Astarte, who in the days of the independence of Carthage was worshipped under the name of Tanit (4). Among the Romans she was identified with various deities such as Juno and Venus, particularly in the earlier times (5). As a Semitic goddess of various attributes, she was very much like the Dea Syria, and as has been explained above, she was identified with that divinity by Cumont (6). In a like manner Moore argues for the identification of Caelestis with Magna Mater and there is no doubt that the similarity of their attributes and ceremonies tended to cause them to blend together, so that one with a reflective trend of mind might unite them and thus the syn-

(1) Clermont-Ganneau, *op. cit.* 230.

(2) Dubois 160. Cp. Schürer, *Geschichte der Juden* (4) III, 162 (20).

(3) Dubois 161.

(4) Audollent, *Carthage romaine* 369-371; Cumont, *Caelestis*, P. - W. II, 1247; de Ruggiero, *Caelestis*, Ruggiero II, 4; Preller-Jordan II, 406; Roscher, *Iuno*, Roscher, II, 614; Toutain, *Les cités romaines de la Tunisie*, 214. The identity between Caelestis-Astarte and Tanit is denied by Baudissin who considers that the former was expressed by Juno Caelestis, the latter by Juno Regina. *Der phönizische Gott Esmun* in *Zeits. der deutschen morgenländ. Ges.* LIX (1905) 510 f.

(5) C. H. Moore, *On the Origin of the Taurobolium* in *Harvard Studies*, XVII (1906) 47.

(6) Cp. Cumont, P.-W. II, 1249. See p. 151.

cretism would be complete (1). But in a place like Puteoli the two cults might exist side by side supported by different elements of the population. In reality the inscription attesting the cult is of unknown origin, and is treated here only because there was little likelihood of a cult of Caelestis in any neighboring town. It mentions the ceremony of the taurobolium as performed under the date of Oct. 7, 134 A. D., which is the oldest extant reference to this rite (2). The record is important because the taurobolium is generally cited in the worship of Magna Mater. It seems, however, to have been associated first with other cults as here and only at a late date to have entered the Phrygian deity's ceremonies with which finally it was for the most part associated (3). It is cited in no other town in connection with the worship of Venus Caelestis (4).

The word *ecitium* of the inscription has not been satisfactorily explained or emended (5). *Pantelium* was taken by Preller as the equivalent of the Greek πανθήλιος, which he understood as a title of Attis not elsewhere cited; in this case Attis would be the sun god considered as supreme ruler. This opinion was refuted by Cumont, who showed that the word equals παντέλειον, a term used in the mysteries to express the culminating day of the festival. According to Zippel it signifies the highest consecration to the will of a goddess who was in-

(1) Moore, *op. cit.* 46 f. cites Tert.*apol.* 12; Aug. *civ.* II, 4, 26 and *C. I. L.* VII, 759 from Britain. Frère, *Sur le culte de Caelestis* in *Rev. arch.* X (1907) 22.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1596=D. 4271=Vaglieri 1206: L. Iulino Vrso Seruiano cos. III Non. Oct. ecitium taurobolium Veneris Celestae et pantelium Herennia Fortunata imperio deae per Ti. Claudium Felicem sacerd. iterata est. It is possible that the numeral III should be construed with the following words.

(3) For the origin of the taurobolium see Cumont, *Rev. arch.* XII (1888) 132 f.; *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. religieuses* VI (1901) 97 f.; *Rev. de phil.* XVII (1893) 195 f.; *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* 1, 334; *Anaitis*, P. - W. 1, 2031; Wissowa 324a; Moore, *Harvard Studies*, XVII (1906) 43; Hepding, *Attis* 201; Körte, *Ath. Mitt.* XXIII (1898) 103; Espérandieu, *Taurobolium*, D.-S. V, 46 and *Les inscriptions antiques de Lectoure* 96; Zippel, *Festschrift L. Friedländer dargebracht* 519.

(4) Körte, *Ath. Mitth.* XXIII (1898) 103.

(5) Cumont conjectures *eximium*, *Rev. arch.* XII (1888) 133 (1); Espérandieu proposes *aegitium*, *Taurobolium*, D.-S. V, 47 (4) and *Les inscriptions antiques de Lectoure* 95; Graillot *Le culte de Cybèle* 431 (5) suggests *initium*.

terested in sacred prostitution (1). A priest appears here with the name Ti. Claudius Felix; as the same man is found in an inscription dated ten years later, it too probably belongs to the cult of Venus Caelestis. For some reason Frère does not include this official in his list of the known priests of Caelestis (2). Here there is a second reference to the taurobolium, in which the initiates are Thalame, a female slave, and members of her family. This is an evidence for the assumption that when the taurobolium was first introduced in the West. its use was confined to those of lowly birth and humble station, and only toward the close of the third century it began to appeal to the rich and powerful (3). There is no indication in this instance as maintained by Göhler, that only sacrifice without baptism was meant or that the taurobolium was essentially different in this religion from that form which it assumed in the worship of Magna Mater (4). There may have been, however, certain peculiar Semitic rites along with the regular taurobolium. Thus in the expression *iterata est*, Zippel, comparing a phrase used by Lampridius in regard to Eliogabalus, sees a reference to the custom of sacred prostitution prevailing in the worship of the Semitic Aphrodite, one of whose manifestations was the Virgo Caelestis (5).

MITHRAS.

While various solar deities of Semitic origin were popular at Puteoli, little evidence has reached us for the cult of *Sol Inuictus Mithras*, who became the most widely known and influential sun god in the Roman world. The designation *Sol Inuictus* occurs once in company with the Genius of the colony,

(1) Preller-Jordan II, 392; Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae* II, p, 164; Zippel, *Das Taurobolium* in *Festschrift L. Friedländer dargebracht* 520.

(2) Frère, *Rev. arch.* X (1907) 28.

(3) C. *I. L.* X, 1597=D. 4272=Vaglieri 1207: III Non. Dec. L. Lolliano Auito cos., Thalame Hosidiae Afrae cum suis condite per Ti. Cl. Felicem sacerdotem. Zippel *op. cit.* 517.

(4) Göhler, *De Matris Magnae apud Romanos cultu* 55 (1).

(5) Zippel *op. cit.* 520.

as reported above (1). An offering was made by the family of Claudius Aurelius Rufinus, but it is not clear just which solar deity was meant, for the appellation *Sol Inuictus* was used as a generic term to refer to any of the Oriental sun gods as distinguished from native deities. Nor is it certain to what extent Sol and Genius were amalgamated in the thought of the dedicators.

As a proof for the presence of Mithras worship, Hirschfeld adduces three inscriptions, one of which contains the word *pater,* a recognized term in this cult to designate one of the grades of initiates (2). But the word can be explained in other ways and so does not necessarily presuppose the presence of a band of Mithras worshippers. Dubois takes it as a term of honor employed by the Augustales in reference to a patron. Perhaps, however, it is used merely to distinguish this man from a son of the same name (3). The circumstance that the Augustales are called *cultores* would explain the word *coluit,* used in the epitaph of the Augustalis Q. Iusteius Diadumenus as a reference to the Imperial cult, but this explanation does not suit the same word when it is applied to Afranius Felix who was not an Augustalis (4). Mommsen's opinion that the term *coluit* has reference to the condition of *colonus* seems unlikely (5). It appears to be an allusion to religious devotion, and although its exact significance is quite uncertain it may possibly along with the word *pater* refer to the Mithras cult. A few remains of art have been found from time to time in the vicinity of Naples but none of these can be definitely associated with Puteoli (6). But although the

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 1591=Vaglieri 1165: Soli Inuicto, Geni(o) Col(oniae) Cl. Aurel. Rufinus cum coniuge et filio d. d. Cumont, *Textes et monuments* I, 48.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1874=Vaglieri 1886: C. Caesonio Eudiacono patri cultor. 7 Cornel. ob merita eius. Hirschfeld, *Zur Gesch. des röm. Kaiserkultus* in *Sitzungsber. der Berl. Akad.* 1888 2, 838 (28) = *Kleine Schriften* 478 (3).

(3) Cp. *C. I. L.* X, 3685; Forcellini, *Lexicon* IV, 526 pater 5); Maiuri, *Studi romani* I (1913) 23-24; Dittenberger, *I. G.* III, 106; Dubois 154 and *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 41.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 1918: Afranio Felici..... q(ui) uixit ann(is) LXXIIII, coluit ann(is) XXIII.

(5) Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht* III, 455 (6).

(6) Cumont, *Textes et monuments* II, 485.

evidence for the presence of Mithras is not abundant and in no sense conclusive, there is every reason to believe that the cult flourished here. At the same time there are indications that it did not become so prominent as in certain other places (1). When the worship of Mithras began to prevail in Italy, Puteoli, while still a sea port of prominence was no longer the most important and had been for some time in a state of decline. Therefore it contained not only fewer merchants but also fewer slaves, who were an important factor in the propagation of the worship of this god (2). As the town was already over supplied with shrines consecrated to the various Oriental faiths, the adherents of which were gradually removing elsewhere and thus leaving the different congregations depleted in numbers, there was little encouragement for the growth of a new form of worship based upon similar principles. Ostia therefore rather than Puteoli gave a warm welcome to Mithras.

THE GODS OF THE DAYS OF THE WEEK.

The gods associated with the worship of the planets, who originated in connection with the astrological notions current in the Orient and presided over the seven days of the week, made their influence felt in the West largely through this port. While they were introduced in this region as early as the Christian era and soon came into common use to mark the various days, they did not as yet belong to the official Roman calendars, which were based upon a week of eight days until the end of the first century A. D. (3) A stone slab containing part of a list of market days which was found in a tomb near the heights of Posilipo includes the names of the gods from

(1) Cp. C. H. Moore, *The Distribution of Oriental Cults in the Gauls and in the Germanies* in *Trans. and Proc. of the Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXVIII (1907) 144.

(2) The waning strength of the Oriental communities is shown by the request of the Tyrians for financial aid to meet the burdens imposed upon them (172 A. D.) *I. G.* XIV, 830=*C. I. G.* 5853. Cumont *Textes et monuments* I, 265; Dubois 153; L. Taylor, *The Cults of Ostia* 82; Cumont, *Les mystères de Mithra* (2) 53.

(3) Maass, *Die Tagesgötter in Rom und den Provinzen* 278.

Saturn to Mars (1). It is dated in the first century A. D. To the same class belongs another inscription included among those of this city, but its origin can not be exactly determined (2).

JUDAISM.

The Jews formed a numerous community at Puteoli but nothing is known of its beginning and subsequent development (3). It seems to have been important as early as the first century B. C., as is indicated by an incident preserved in the histories of Josephus. An impostor, who had assumed the name of Alexander, a son of Herod the Great, and while posing as that prince came to Italy to claim his rights, landed at Puteoli and was welcomed by Jews who were friendly toward Herod (4 B. C.) (4). Large numbers of Jews had been carried away from Palestine as captives by Pompey in 63 B. C. and it is probable that the community at Puteoli was largely made up of slaves or descendants of slaves. Others may have been lured to locate here by the advantageous commercial prospects which the city offered, and engaged in trade like the Phoenicians. On account of their uncompromising attitude in religion, however, they naturally took no part in the semi-religious societies maintained by other Semitic merchants for social and business reasons (5). An influential community is presupposed by the author of the Acts of Peter and Paul, which enlarges upon the fact that Paul landed at Puteoli on his voyage to Rome. According to this account the Jews are

(1) *N. S.* 1891, 238=C. *I. L.* I, (2) p. 218. Cp. a *tabula nundialis* of uncertain origin in C. *I. L.* I (2) p. 218 and Maass, *op. cit.* 265.

(2) C. *I. L.* X, 1605.

(3) Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums* II, 216.

(4) Josephus, *Antiq. Iudaeorum* XVII 12, 1 and *Bellum Iud.* II 7, 1; Schürer, *Geschichte der Juden* III; Ferorelli, *Gli ebrei nell'Italia meridionale* in *Arch. stor. Nap.* XXXII (1907) 249, and *Gli Ebrei nell'It. merid. dall'età romana al secolo* XVIII 3.

(5) Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* (3) V, 470=*Provinces of the Roman Empire* (trans. of Dickson) II, 155-156; Dubois 101; Friedländer *Sittengesch.* (8) IV, 237.

supposed to have desired to kill the Apostle and actually to have murdered the ship captain Dioscorus, whom they mistook for him (1). Toward the close of the Empire the Jewish element seems to have been very important and to have numbered men of prominence among its members (2). A cemetery for the use of the Jews probably lay near the spot called Marano, as inscriptions alluding to men of this nationality have been discovered in this vicinity.

Renan has pointed out the influence which the volcanic region of the Solfatara seems to have exercised upon the minds of the Jews, as is expressed in their sacred writings (3). In this class belongs especially the apocalyptical book of Enoch, where it is stated that the fallen angels dwell in a subterranean valley located in the West. Here were boiling springs of sulphur, floods of fire and a smoke arising from burning brimstone (4). Moreover the myths of the Giants localized in the Phlegraean Fields were adopted by the author of this book (5). Renan also considered that the writer of the book of Revelation had been at Puteoli, and used the Solfatara as the original of his vision of the sun and locusts to cover the earth like squadrons of cavalry (6). Similar in substance is a passage in the Sibylline oracles due to Jewish authorship (7).

Hebrew divinities are named in an imprecation tablet written in Greek, which Wünsch regards as the work of a non-Greek and perhaps of a Latin (8). It prays for the ruin of C. Stlaccius Liberalis belonging to a *gens*, some of whose

(1) *Acta Petri et Pauli* 9.

(2) The inscriptions relating to the Jews are assembled by Dubois 103. Cp. Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. III (1855) 105; Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain* I, 445 (3).

(3) Renan, *Antechrist* 330 f. = *'Antichrist* (*trans.* of Allen) 266 and *Les Apôtres* 195; Dubois 166; Chiappelli, *Atti della r. Accad. di sci. mor. e pol.* (Napoli) XXXI (1900) 558.

(4) The book of *Enoch* LXVII, 4-13.

(5) *Enoch* 12; Renan, *Antechrist* 332=*Antichrist* (trans.) 265 (5).

(6) *Revelation* 9; Renan, *'Antechrist* 396=*Antichrist* (trans.) 310.

(7) *Oracula Sibyllina* IV, 130 f.

(8) *I. G.* XIV 859; Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae* No. 208; Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln* No. 2; Hülsen, *Bleitafel, mit Verwünschungsformeln* in *Arch. Zeit.* XXXIX (1881) 309.

members, as we have already seen, were devoted to the cult of the Oriental Liber and the Cereres (1). The employment of Semitic deities, who had been made known to the world through the writings of Hellenized Jews, is in accordance with a tendency of the times to form a theogony comprising both Semitic and Greek divinities. Whether such a combination is particularly the result of Gnosticism is uncertain. At the head of the list of gods invoked to execute the work of destruction appears the word Sabaoth, a Greek expression for one of the aspects of the great Jehovah, which was often utilized in similar cases (2). A prominent place is occupied by Iao, another reference to the Hebrew deity, who in harmony with the polytheistic tendencies of the writer is named as an independent god (3). With him appears the Semitic El, worshipped especially among the Phoenicians and sometimes with Greek influence associated with Cronos. Then follows the mighty angel Michael, the protector of the Hebrews after the Captivity, who played an important part in spells and incantations, and was believed to have an extraordinary power of control over the demons of evil and darkness (4). Finally, as stated above, an Egyptian divinity completes the list.

CHRISTIANITY.

The modern Pozzuoli makes the claim that it is the oldest Christian community in Italy and is a foundation of St. Patrobus. Such at least is the purport of an inscription engraved upon a pedestal in the market place (5). But while this claim can not be proved, the church here was certainly one of the oldest and in venerable antiquity ranks with the one at Rome. Here in the year 66 of our era St. Paul landed on his way from

(1) See p. 144.

(2) Wünsch, *op. cit.* p. 7; Höfer, *Sabaoth*, Roscher IV 231; von Baudissin, *Der Göttername* Ἰάω in *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* I 187; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* 6.

(3) See p. 84.

(4) Wünsch *op. cit.* 8; Dieterich, *Abraxas* 122; Cumont, *El*, P.-W. V, 2217 f.; Lüken, *Eine Darstellung und Vergleichen der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael* 15 f.; 117 f.

(5) Cp. Trede, *Das Heidentum in der röm. Kirche* II, 170.

Caesarea to Rome, and found a number of Christians already located to welcome him; with them he tarried for a week (1). These people were doubtless converted Jews belonging chiefly to the lower orders of society, as was the case also in other localities (2). The origin and development of the body of believers constituting the local church is quite difficult to follow, because the Apostle nowhere else alludes to this church nor to any of its members, and the later compositions that purport to relate incidents connected with his stay are worthless. The same judgment must be passed on the writings which attempt to connect Peter with the church of Puteoli; although recent attempts have not been lacking to demonstrate that it was a foundation of that Apostle. At the same time the compositions just cited, however worthless they may be for the facts which they claim to relate, are of some value in the sense that they clearly indicate a belief that the early company of believers here was important (3).

The Patrobas who is mentioned by St. Paul is cited in certain documents as a bishop of Puteoli, but no reliance can be placed upon these sources (4). Another alleged bishop called Celsus may have been a prominent member of the early church, but there is no evidence that he held a bishopric (5). In the third and fourth centuries the names of several incumbents

(1) *Acts* 28, 13-14; Weizsäcker, *Das apostolische Zeitalter*[2] (3) 450; Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'église* (5) I, 58; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* 346; Renan, *St. Paul* 113, 558-559 and *Antechrist* 10; C. Bigg, *The Origins of Christianity* 19; Weiss, *Das Urchristentum* 290.

(2) See p. 39.

(3) *Acta Petri et Pauli* 9; Lipsius et Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* I, 51; *Acts of St. Aspren* in *Acta Sanctorum* August, I, p. 201 f.; Lipsius *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten* II, part 1, 177, 341; Weizsäcker *op. cit.* 465 f.; Lanzoni, *Riv. storico-crit. delle scienze teol.* VI (1910 119; Scherillo, *Della venuta di S. Pietro nella città di Napoli* 150 f.

(4) *Romans* 16; Pseudo-Hippolytus, *De LXX apostolis*=Migne, *Patr. Graeca* X, 956, No. 37; *Selecta quaedam ad illustrationem Chronici Paschalis*= Migne, *Patr. graeca* XCII, 1063, No. 37; *Synaxarium Costantinopolitanum* in *Acta sanctorum Propylaeum* Nov. 194, l. 10; 786, l. 14. Cp. Scherillo, *op. cit.* 183 f.

(5) Scherillo, *op. cit.* 203; Dubois 168 f.

of the office are known (1). Likewise the names of martyrs have been preserved, the most important of whom is St. Januarius, a bishop of Beneventum, who became the patron saint of the Neapolitans. In the year 305 the saint with several companions was condemned to die in the arena, but was actually executed by beheading near the Solfatara. On this spot perhaps in the fourth century a church was erected in honor of the saint (2). At an unknown date subsequent to this event the temple of Augustus was transformed into the church of S. Proculo (3). Remains which refer to the early Christian community are few. A limited number of inscriptions have been found but none that is dated before the fifth century. Dubois cites also two bas-reliefs with figures of the apostles Peter and Paul (4).

(1) *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina* I, 613; Mazocchi, *Acta Bononiensia* p. 25 f.; Greek life of St. Januarius in *Bibliotheca Casinensis* II, Florilegium 227 f.; Dubois 171 f.

(2) Dubois 170 f.

(3) The church is not mentioned before the eleventh century, Capasso, *Monumenta Neapol. Ducatus* II, Regesta 406, 441.; Dubois 183.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 3298-3333; Dubois 427, Nos. 44,45.

CHAPTER IV.

NEAPOLIS.

Midway between Puteoli and Mt. Vesuvius, on the slopes of the hills that rise on the western side of the Bay of Naples there grew up in ancient times a city, which through all the vicissitudes of Italian history has maintained its identity to the present moment. This is the Neapolis of the Greeks and Romans, the Napoli of the modern Italian kingdom. Built in a strong natural position, it was rarely besieged with success, and enjoyed an almost unparalleled good fortune in never being violently destroyed. It was laid out systematically with a Forum in the center and three main avenues running from east to west, and this symmetrical arrangement combined with its magnificent location in the midst of a landscape unexcelled for beauty made it one of the most attractive spots in Italy (1). Like all the coast cities its subject territory was limited to a few square miles. The series of heights called *collis Leucogaeus*, extending from the northeast toward the coast, formed its boundary on the side of Puteoli and Capua. On the east its territory touched that of the adjacent Herculaneum, and toward the northeast it included the valley of the Sebethus about as far as the village of Pomigliano, which thus marks approximately its limits in the direction of Nola. In addition its territory

(1) Generally considered as an illustration of the system of city planning ascribed to Hippodamus of Miletus with rectangular rather than square blocks. But cp. Haverfield, *Ancient Town Planning*, 101, who considers that the design shown here is fundamentally Italian. F. von Duhn, *Der Dioskurentempel in Neapel*. 5 (5).

included the islands of Capreae (Capri) and Pithecussae (Ischia) (1).

The valley of the Sebethus produced grain in abundance and the hill-country an excellent sort of wine. Among other articles of commerce were chestnuts, reputed to be the best in Italy, and perfumed ointments of good quality. The location of the city was furthermore adapted for commerce; it possessed from early times a fortified harbor district on the low coast land, and before the rise of Puteoli attended to most of the transportation of wares between Campania and the lands of the East. But during the whole period of Roman supremacy under the Empire as well as under the Republic, Neapolis as a business center was of only moderate importance because of the close proximity of Puteoli, which had become the maritime metropolis of the western coast.

The city continued to be predominantly Greek in its language and institutions under the jurisdiction of Rome, and in the epoch of the Empire was the one center of Greek civilization in the province. Its people were interested in rhetoric, music and the various forms of culture and in the contests of the stadium rather than in the combats of the arena. Here Polemon, the celebrated Sophist, and other rhetoricians taught. As a result of all this activity *docta* became a regular epithet of the city, and when Nero wished to exhibit his musical ability in public, he selected the Neapolitans as a sympathetic yet discriminating audience. Finally the city is prominently identified with Latin literature through the circumstance that Vergil, Statius and Silius at various times had their residence there (2).

Ancient writers assert that the original settlement was first called Parthenope from its guardian deity the Siren or else Phaleron; others have claimed the existence near by of another community named Palaepolis. Although the early traditions are extremely uncertain and contradictory, it is probable that Rhodians settled first in the neighborhood; later at the beginning

(1) Beloch 16-17.

(2) For more complete accounts of the city see Beloch 54; Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde* II, 743 f.; De Petra, *I porti antichi dell'Italia meridionale* 324 f.

of the sixth century B. C. a band from Cumae founded a community, and within another hundred years these colonists were joined by settlers from Athens. In 421 B. C. when the Campanians had made themselves masters of Cumae, Neapolis served as a refuge for the inhabitants who escaped, and was henceforth the sole survivor of the independent Greek cities in this region, - a rallying point for the vestiges of Greek civilization in the West.

After the Oscans had obtained a place in the state in consequence of internal dissensions, it continued to flourish in both an intellectual and commercial way. Its sea power was supreme, and when the Romans began encroaching upon Campania, it declared war in 328 B. C., and with the help of the Samnites and other allies was resisting the enemy with good success until treachery rendered its efforts vain. But, although the Romans thus gained possession of the city, they offered favorable terms of alliance to the conquered people, depriving it only of the island Pithecussae (326 B. C.); as a result of their liberal policy they were never troubled by any attempt to revolt on the part of the Neapolitans. The latter after considerable hesitation accepted Roman citizenship under the terms of the *lex Iulia,* but were allowed to retain Greek as their official language and to continue the election of their regular magistrates. Augustus took away Capreae from their jurisdiction but restored Pithecussae (1). Titus added to the population a number of veterans and assisted materially in the rebuilding of those districts destroyed by the earthquake of 63 A. D. At some time in the early Empire it became a colony; in the later Imperial period it began to outstrip Puteoli, and in the sixth century Cassiodorus speaks of its power and wealth (2). During the barbarian invasions it escaped disaster; it was captured, however, by Belisarius in his attempt to recover Italy for the Byzantine empire (536 A. D.), and was retaken later by Totila, who razed the walls. (543 A. D.) (3).

(1) See p. 315.

(2) Cassiod. *Var.* VI, 23. This testimony, however, must be somewhat discounted because of the florid, rhetorical character of the passage.

(3) For the history of Neapolis see Beloch 28 f.; Franz, *C. I. G.* III. p. 714 f.; Kaibel, *I. G.* XIV p. 190 f.; Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 170-173;

PHRATRY GODS.

In accordance with their Greek origin and institutions the Neapolitans were grouped in phratries, which formed the component elements of their state. They were important in the life of the citizens, and had their own assemblies, places of meeting, officers, and religious observances (1). The sacrifices and offerings made in the interest of the gods recognized by various phratries are alluded to in several inscriptions, which belong ordinarily to a comparatively late period like all those giving any information about the phratries. From this source it is evident that sacrifices were due at regular intervals. The testator Ariston, who with his wife Valeria Musa left a bequest to the phratry of the Aristaioi to be used for feasts and sacrifices and also to serve as a loan fund, stipulated that the officers of the phratry should not utilize his legacy for feast or sacrifice except upon the two customary days of each month. Should this prohibition be violated, the officials of the organization were required to pay to the phratry gods' treasury the sum of 250 *denarii* of silver as a penalty (2) M. Cocceius, a freedman of one of the Emperors, probably Nerva, offered in company with his children an enormous bowl (*skyphos*) and Caedicia Victrix set up a pedestal for this or a similar vessel (3). Sometimes the divinities of a phratry are referred to simply as θεοί (4); the official designation, however, is θεοὶ φράτριοι or θεοὶ φρήτορες. These deities, under whose protection the individual phratries stood, are generally distinguished from the θεοὶ πάτριοι worshipped by the state as a whole. Yet this distinction does not seem always to have been observed, at least in the later times, because in one instance

Nissen, *It. Landesk.* II, 747 f.; Pais, *Storia di Napoli e Ischia* in *Atti Nap.* XXI (1900) part. 1, 145 f.; *La missione politica e civile di Napoli nell'antichità* in *Flegrea* II (1900) part. 1, 300 f.; Pirro, *Origine di Napoli* and *Nuovo contributo della storia di Napoli greca* in *Studi stor.* V (1912) 275 f.; De Petra, *Napoli e la tomba di Partenope* in *Atti Nap.* XXV (1908) 15 f.

(1) Lecrivain, *Phratria*, D.-S. IV 446.

(2) *I. G.* XIV, 759= *C. I. G.* 5785=Vaglieri 1743.

(3) *I. G.* XIV, 721= *C. I. G.* 5788.

(4) *I. G.* XIV, 724; *I. G.* XIV, 725= *C. I. G.* 5808.

the image of the eponymous phratry god Eumelus is designated by the epithet πατρῷος (1). It may of course be true in this case that the god was honored by a wider circle than the members of a single phratry; he seems in fact to have been of some prominence from the circumstance that Eumelis replaces Parthenope as a designation for the nymph who guarded the city (2). But it does not seem probable, as is claimed by De Petra, that this god should be put in the same category as the major *dii patrii* of the community, - Apollo, Demeter, and the Dioscuri (3).

The employment of the term θεοὶ φρήτορες tends to indicate a belief in divinities conceived in a vague and general way as protectors of the phratry and not called by individual names (4). At the same time the appearance of gods like Eumelus proves that in the period from which our evidence is derived specific divinities with particular names are recognized; the latter are either in addition to the former category, or else became associated with those deities in the course of time and gradually usurped their places. That additional gods were honored by the associations composing the phratries in addition to the original nameless ones is proved by the inscription in which the Theotadai associate the deified Emperors with their old phratry gods (5). Among the divinities with individual names are certain eponymous gods and heroes from whom the phratry derived its name, and possibly others of the more important divinities who were especially reverenced in some of the associations. To the first class belongs the Eumelus mentioned above, an image of whom was presented to the Eumeleidai by a father and son of the Flauii. He has been identified with the Thessalian hero mentioned in the

(1) *I. G.* XIV, 715 = *C. I. G.* 5786 = Vaglieri 1049; *Ignarra. De phatriis* 92 f.; 96.

(2) Stat. *sil.* IV, 8, 49. See p. 182 (3).

(3) Capasso-De Petra, *Napoli greco-romana* 59. Cp. Franz, *C. I. G.* III, p. 715; Avellino, *Bull. Nap.* I (1843) 22.

(4) von Wilamowitz, *Nach. von der kgl. Gesells. der Wiss.* (Göttingen) 1895, 228 (24).

(5) *I. G.* XIV, 723=*C. I. G.* 5787 and add. p. 1254 = Vaglieri 1044; Cp *I. G.* XIV, 728=*C. I. G.* 5802b.

Homeric poems, the son of Admetus and Alcestis, but is probably another hero of Boeotian or Euboean extraction about whom nothing further is known (1). One legend seems, however, to have made him Parthenope's father instead of Achelous (2). His name has been associated with the remains of what was apparently a circular temple located on the lower *decumanus* near the *Porta Puteolana*. Near this place was unearthed the large pedestal recording the gift of T. Flauius Pius. Although this identification is quite uncertain, it is more probable than others which have been suggested (3). The names of the phratries Eunostidai and Aristaioi indicate that their members honored respectively as guardian deities Eunostus, the hero of Tanagra, and Aristaeus, who was highly honored in Boeotia and Euboea (4). The eponymous heroes that may have served as the objects of the cult of the Theotadai and the Pankleidai are altogether unknown (5).

Artemis received the special devotion of the Artemisioi according to a recently discovered inscription, which demonstrates the intimate relations existing between goddess and phratry (6). The origin of the phratry's name was formerly disputed, although the true derivation was conjectured long ago by Martorelli (7). The new inscription, a long document belonging to the reign of Septimius Severus (194 A. D.), shows that through all the vicissitudes of the centuries, amid the

(1) Beloch 148; Franz, *C. I. G.* III p. 716; Vollmer, Stat, *sil.* p. 490; Schiff, *Eumeleidai*, P.-W. VI, 1078.

(2) Stat. *s'l.* IV, 8, 49; Franz, *C. I. G.* III p. 716; Ilberg, *Parthenope*, Roscher III, 1653; Heydemann, *Eumelos und Parthenope* in *Arch. Zeit.* XXIV (1866) 136.

(3) Capasso-De Petra, *Napoli greco-romana* 95.

(4) Gruppe 367; Schiff, *Eunostos* 2) P.-W. VI, 1136. The cult of Aristaeus at Neapolis is not recognized by Hiller von Gärtringen, *Aristaios*, P.-W. II, 854.

(5) Franz, *C. I. G.* III p. 716.

(6) *Rev. arch.* XXI (1913) 476; Mallardo, *Nuova epigrafe greco-latina della fratria napoletana degli Artemisi* in *Memorie Nap.* II (1913) 150-175; Maiuri, *La nuova iscrizione della fratria napoletana degli Artemisi* in *Studi romani* I (1913) 21-36; De Marchi, *Studi romani* I (1913) 326-328; De Sanctis, *Rev. épigr.* II (1914-15) 306-309.

(7) Martorelli, *De regia theca calamaria* 620 f.; Ignarra had thought that the name came from the promontory of Artemisium in Euboea. Ignarra, *De phratriis* 156.

development of other interests and other lines of thought the Neapolitans with great conservatism adhered to their early form of organization and still scrupulously maintained the worship of the deities of the phratry. The record is in honor of L. Munatius Hilarianus, a benefactor of the phratry, who had improved their quarters by embellishing the chief room (οἶκος), added a banquet-hall (ἑστιατήριον) better than that of any other phratry, and finally constructed a shrine (νεώς) for the worship of Artemis worthy both of the deity and of the organization. As a consequence, the phratry wished to reward him with numerous tokens of their esteem, comprising the right to dispose of fifty places at entertainments of the phratry, and statues and pictures of himself and his deceased son, only a part of which he accepted (1). The son, a member of this phratry, had been deified after his death and now received the observances due to a hero (2). Maiuri believes that his cult was due not so much to the survival of ancient ideas in the phratry as to the influence of associations and societies developing in the Greco-Roman period (3).

From the evidence of this inscription we get a good idea of the various features of social and religious life in the phratry both of which were carried on in the rooms of the common property. We are not to suppose any innovations or extension of activity at this time but merely the restoration on a more magnificent scale of the shrine and the room for entertainments. Yet their original equipment was probably less, and was perhaps limited to one apartment, the οἶκος ἱερός for attending to the religious duties of the phratry and preserving any sacred

(1) The term χώρας has been explained in various ways. Maiuri, *op. cit.* 30 takes it to mean parcels of ground; De Marchi, *op. cit.* 327, the privilege of conferring fifty menberships in the organization. The interpretation given above is that of De Sanctis, *Rev. épigr.* XI (1914) 307.

(2) Mallardo, *op. cit.* 172; De Marchi, *op. cit.* 328. Cp. Deneken, *Heros,* Roscher I, 2516 f. Mallardo cites a number of cases of the appearance of the term *hero* in epitaphs from Sicily (*I. G.* XIV 223-230), Rome and vicinity (*I. G.* XIV 1327, 1343, 1480, 1649, 1755, 1810, 2133), and Forum Iulii (*I. G.* XIV, 2379).

(3) Maiuri, *op. cit.* 33. For the worship of heroes in the Greek associations generally cp. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinwesens* 228 f.

objects it might possess (1). Under the influence of the various *collegia* in Roman times the activity of the phratries gradually enlarged, and at the same time was more specialized by distribution among a series of rooms. The οἶκος became now the chief room and was used for assemblies. The religious activity in honor of a patron deity, which was always important, was now provided with a regular shrine for the display of the common piety (2).

It is more difficult to trace the worship of gods not directly connected by name with the phratry. The dedication of images of Castor and Pollux in the organization called Eumeleidai does not necessarily indicate that they were here looked upon as special patrons, for the dedication of the statue of one god in the sanctuary of another was a common occurrence. The successful athletes, who made the donation wished to honor the Dioscuri as divinities interested in sports, and so set up the statues where they would conduce to the adornment of their own phratry, an action which received due recognition from this source. Then to make the tribute to the gods complete the parents added altars and lights (3).

Another inscription, already mentioned as recording the gift of a freedman of Nerva to the Kymaioi, was inscribed upon a pedestal which exhibits in the form of sculptured reliefs the figures of three gods, - Hephaestus, Dionysus, and Heracles. The first is engaged in the manufacture of a shield, the second, accompanied by a panther, has his customary emblems, the *thyrsus* and the *cantharus*, while the last has in his possession the vanquished dog of Hades. On account of their connection with the inscription it has been maintained by Engelmann and Usener that these three deities are the θεοὶ φράτριοι of this division of the people (4). The former sees in this worship

(1) Maiuri, *op. cit.* 28; Mallardo, *op. cit.* 164. *Cp.* Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum* II, 360; Poland, *Geschichte des gr. Vereinwesens* 465.

(2) Κοινός, as used here refers only to the phratry.

(3) *I. G.* XIV, 748= *C. I. G.* 5805=Vaglieri 2163. Commentary by Civitelli, *I nuovi frammenti d'epigrafi greche relative ai ludi augustali di Napoli* in *Atti Nap.* XVII (1894) part 2, No. 3, 44.

(4) Engelmann, *Arch. Zeit.* XXXI (1874) 133; Usener, *Dreiheit* in *Rh. Mus.* LVIII (1903) 16; cp. Höfer, *Phratrioi*, Roscher, III, 2457; Farnell V, 395.

the cult of a triad of gods, which was transmitted from Chalcis through the medium of Cumae, and considers that their only relationship or basis of existence as a triad is the circumstance that they were worshipped by a common body. But von Wilamowitz does not regard the identity of the figures as certain, and denies in any event that they were phratry gods (1). In all probability the reliefs were intended merely as a work of art for decorative purposes.

It is probable that the number of phratries was twelve, most of whose names are known. One name, that of the Antinoitai, manifestly can not be dated earlier than the reign of Hadrian, when the cult of the Emperor's favorite Antinous came into vogue. One set of inscriptions preserves the names of two men who are called Sufenas and are described as members not only of this phratry but also of the Eunostidai (2). To explain this peculiarity different theories have been proposed none of which has met with general acceptance. Beloch, followed by Schiff and Capasso, considers that only one phratry is represented by the double name, and that the organization formerly honoring as chief patron the Boeotian hero from Tanagra later gave the place of preëminence in its cult to the deified Antinous without entirely neglecting the older god (3). Schiff sees a point of contact between the two divinities tending toward their identification in the circumstance that both ceased to live at any early age (4). On the other hand there is a probability that the Eunostidai were different from the Antinoitai, and that the Sufenates were members of two organizations, - a state of affairs due to the fact that the old definite distinctions between the phratries had broken down after they lost their political importance (5).

(1) von Wilamowitz *(loc. cit.)* who considers that Hephaestus and Heracles may well have been held in honor by an ex-slave.

(2) *C. I. L.* VI, 1851; D. 6188. The three inscriptions belong to a monument that was set up at Bovillae. The Sufenates belonged to the equestrian order and attained a number of distinctions.

(3) Beloch 42; Schiff, *Eunostidai,* P.-W. VI, 1136; Capasso-De Petra, *op. cit.* 7; Ignarra, *op. cit.* 119.

(4) Schiff, P.-W. VI, 1136.

(5) The exact manner in which the Antinoitai were formed according

PARTHENOPE.

The most distinctive and one of the most interesting Neapolitan cults is that of Parthenope, the eponymous goddess of the ancient community, who was identified by the people with one of the three female deities known as the Sirens (1). These were not revered collectively here as at Surrentum nor did those qualities appear strikingly in Parthenope which are usually assigned to them in myth and folk lore. Though portrayed with wings, she was not one of those ugly birds with human head which in popular belief, as depicted on countless vases, were the embodiment of departed souls (2). She was not on the other hand preeminently the seductive nymph of the Homeric poems, although the notion of her chagrin at the final failure of her musical powers was interwoven into the legend of her death on this coast (3). It is true that since she was a Siren, the legend ordinarily represented her influence as baleful, and associated her with the perils of a treacherous, if fair-appearing, sea. As one who had met death among the waves, her spirit was regarded as haunting this shore, powerful to wreak vengeance unless it were duly appeased with the tribute proper for a chthonic deity. But at the same time a tradition developed that Parthenope was good; as one who had defended her virginity against persistent attacks she received the epithet of saintly

to this opinion is uncertain. Whether this was a fractional part of an older phratry, a combination of two which had suffered a decline, or an entirely new creation is disputed, but the second supposition seems most probable. Cp. Kaibel, *I. G.* XIV, p. 91; Capasso-De Petra, *op. cit.* 202; Maiuri, 36; Corcia, *Storia delle due Sicilie* II, 218; De Sanctis, *Atthis, Storia della repubblica ateniese* (2) 47.

(1) That Parthenope gave her name to the city is expressly stated by several Latin authors. List in Ilberg, *Parthenope, Roscher* III, 1654.

(2) Weicker, *Seirenen*, Roscher IV, 608 f., and *Der Seelenvogel* 1 f.

(3) *Odyssey* XII, 39-54, 166-200 contains the oldest literary account of the Sirens. Their death is first related by Lycophron who follows Timaeus 713 f. Cp. Schol. to Lycophron 712; Schol. *Odyssey* XII 39; Sil. XII, 33. The fate of Parthenope is alluded to by Stephanus of Byzantium.

Cp. Stat. *sil.* IV, 4, 51; Dion. Perieg. 358 with comments of Scholiast and Eustathius=*Geographi Graeci minores* II p. 445, 280.

(ἁγνή). (1). Although associated by Dionysius and Eustathius with Campania, she is probably influenced by the characteristics of the Sirens located in Sicily, who are represented as the faithful friends of Demeter in her affliction (2). De Petra maintains that the version of a beneficent Parthenope was eagerly accepted by the Neapolitans, since it tended to magnify their deity in public opinion, and consequently it obtained a firm hold in the popular belief, which survived in the Middle Ages (3). Then she had become the daughter of a Sicilian king, - a conception depending upon the circumstance that the human side of the Siren nature had long been emphasized in accordance with a peculiarity of belief restricted to the West (4).

A knowledge of the Sirens was brought to Italy by the early settlers, who were familiar with the localization of the Homeric enchantresses on its western shore (5). At Neapolis the cult of Parthenope was not introduced through the medium of the colony at Cumae, for indications of such a worship are totally lacking there. In fact according to tradition the Cumeans tried to destroy the town of Parthenope, thus doing violence to the goddess who bore its name, and only when they had become victims of a plague did they try to build up the city and promote zealously the cult of the eponymous deity. It is true that this legend was probably a late invention designed to explain the origin of the Siren worship here, yet the language of the historian seems to imply a situation in which the Cumeans were dealing with a cult foreign to themselves and

(1) Dionys, *Perieg.* 358; Eustath. *comm. ad Dionys. Perieg.* 358; *Schol.* ad Dionys. 358; Krebs, *Metiochos und Parthenope* in *Heimes* XXX (1895) 144; Höfer, *Metiochos* Roscher II, 2938; Ilberg, Roscher III, 1655.

(2) Ov. *met.* V, 550 f. Cp. Hyg. *fab.* 141; Apoll. Rhod. IV, 898; Claudian *De raptu Proserpinae* III, 190.

(3) De Petra, *Partenope Sicula* in *Miscellanea Salinas* 85 and *Le sirene del mar tirreno* in *Atti Nap.* XXV (1908) part 1, 27 f. Cp. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel* 61.

(4) *Cronaca di Parthenope,* quoted by De Petra, *Le Sirene del mar tirreno* 27 f.; Boccaccio, *Ameto* Vol. XV, 139 (opere volgari, Firenze 1833). According to th's account Parthenope's tomb showed the following words: Qui Partenope vergine Sicula morta giace.

(5) See p. 14.

existent at Neapolis before any settlement of theirs in that spot (1). The worship of Parthenope alone was restricted to this one place, although Lycophron erroneously represents it as more widely extended. He says that she was welcomed by the dwellers on the banks of the Clanius (Γλάνις), which is called by Tzetzes in his comment a river of Cumae. But here the learned Alexandrian, striving for a display of erudition rather than for plain accuracy, has confounded this stream with the Sebethus (2).

The main fact in this cult was the grave, which the people of Neapolis were able to show as a proof of their special relations with the goddess (3). Here the body had been washed ashore and piously interred by the inhabitants, and here the rites of libation and sacrifice of oxen were performed in her honor as to a hero (4). At the tomb was erected a shrine, utilized perhaps as an oracle, within which was an image of the deity, who was probably represented in the guise of a young woman with wings (5). In this manner she is portrayed on a sardonyx in the British Museum, - a type

(1) Lutatius Daphnis fr. 2 = Philargyrius on Verg. *georg.* IV, 564 = Peter, *Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 126; Lutatius, lib. IIII dicit, Cumanos incolas a parentibus d'gressos Parthenopen urbem constituisse, dictam a Parthenope Sirena, cuius corpus etiam..... postquam ob locorum ubertatem amoenitatemque magis coepta sit frequentare, ueritos ne Cymaeam desererent inisse consilium Parthenopen diruendi Post etiam pestilentia affectos ex responso oraculi urbem restituisse sacraque Parthenopis cum magna religione suscepisse, nomen autem Neapoli ob recentem institutionem imposuisse. Cp. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel* 64.

(2) Lyc. *Alex* 717, f.

τὴν μὲν Φαλήρου τύρσις ἐκβεβρασμένην
Γλάνις τε ῥείθροις δέξεται τέγγων χθόνα.
οὗ σῆμα δωμήσαντες ἔγχωροι κόρης
λοιβαῖσι καὶ θύσθλοισι Παρθενόπην βοῶν
ἔτεια κυδανοῦσιν οἰωνὸν θεάν.

(3) Strab. I, 2, 13: ἐν Νεαπόλει Παρθενόπης δείκνυται μνῆμα μιᾶς τῶν Σειρήνων. Cp. V, 4, 7; Plin. *nat.* III 62; Suet. fr. 203 (Reifferscheid p. 350).

(4) Lycophron, *loc. cit.*

(5) Suidas Σειρήν. ἐν ᾗ Παρθενόπης ἵδρυται Σειρῆνος ἄγαλμα. Older writers such as Capaccio, *Historia Neapolitana* I, 25 conceive of Parthenope in the common Siren form as a bird with human face, but the ugliness of such an image would be repugnant to Greek taste. Cp. however Regling, *Terina, Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste* 1906, 62.

which may be connected with the contests held yearly in her honor. This festival was inaugurated by the Athenian nauarch Diotimus, probably the son of Strombichus, who about the year 430 B. C. during a lull in the Peloponnesian War touched at the port of Neapolis; here he sacrificed to Parthenope at the suggestion of an oracle and instituted a torch race (1). This information, which depends on Timaeus, an authority on the affairs of the Western Greeks, is the earliest reference to Parthenope's cult, and shows that this had been practiced before the fifth century B. C. At that time it was brought into relation with the Delphic oracle, which as a means for averting some unknown danger or disaster threatening Athens or the Athenian possessions ordered that Parthenope should be propitiated. The peculiar form of the expiation, manifesting itself as a torch race, corresponded to current Athenian usage (2).

The torch race thus introduced was repeated each year by the inhabitants, thus becoming a counterpart of the Athenian *Panathenaia*, and like it was perhaps exhibited with increased magnificence the third year of each Olympiad (3). Though other competitive events were doubtless added in the course of time, the race with lighted torches would remain the central feature of the celebration. The gem alluded to above pictures the Siren holding in her right hand a torch and a wreath, while raised upon her left shoulder is an amphora, which may represent a prize offered to the winner. As at Athens the victor received an oil lamp, so here he would get a jar of wine (4). We are informed that the expenses incurred in

(1) Schol. on Lyc. 732=Timaeus, fr. 99 (Müller). Cp. Lyc. 732; Beloch 30; A. Sambon, *Les monnaies antiques de l'Italie* I, 172 (2); De Petra, *Le origini di Napoli* in *Atti Nap.* XXIII (1905) 45; Ilberg, *Parthenope*, Roscher III, 1654; Correra, *Le più antiche monete di Napoli* in *Rend. Nap.* XVI (1902) 105; Helbig, *Sopra le relazioni commerciali degli Ateniesi coll'Italia* in *Rend. dei Lincei* series 4, V part 1 (1889) 82.

(2) Weicker, *op. cit.* 61 f.; cp. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter* 47 f.

(3) Lyc. *Alex.* 737; Weicker, *op. cit.* 63.

(4) Panofka, *Arch. Zeit.* X (1852) 477, Pl. 44, No. 3. The interpretation suggested by Panofka has not found general accept nce. Müller thought that the Siren was represented as bearing a urn to a funeral pyre and Furtwängler, that she is trying to entice to nocturnal revels. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der*

maintaining the cult were provided for by the income derived from tracts of land set apart for Parthenope's benefit (1).

The location of grave and shrine has been much disputed by local topographers. De Petra, examining exhaustively the different theories, finds two main views on the subject, which follow popular tradition transmitted from the ancient world (2). These he thinks originated in the first settlements made in this region, which he professes to be able to identify definitely with certain points within the limits of the modern Naples. Thus he locates in the district of S. Lucia the Rhodian colonists, who claimed to possess the tomb in their territory on the Pizzofalcone; he likewise assumes that this claim was contested by the men from Cumae who maintained that they themselves were its possessors (3). According to the second claim the tomb was located farther east within the old walled city of Roman times. Fabio Giordano, who is followed by Capasso, had placed it in the most elevated part of this district where the church of S. Aniello was erected (4); whether Pontano agreed with this assignment or wished to have it on the present site of S. Giovanni Maggiore is disputed (5). The main idea in any case was to select a hill overlooking the

alten Kunst II No. 753; Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen* Pl. 10, No. 24. Portrayed also in Imhoof-Blumner und Keller, *Tier und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* Pl. XXVI, 32 and Millin, *Galerie mythologique* Pl. LXXX, No. 312.

(1) *Gromatici veteres* p. 235 (Lachmann): Neapolis: ager eius Sirenae Parthenopae a Graecis est in iugeribus adsignatus.

(2) De Petra, *Le Sirene del mar tirreno* in *Atti Nap.* XXV (1908) 15 f. The author cites the Cronaca di Parthenope and Boccaccio's *Amadeo* as embodying popular tradition.

(3) On the basis of the two conflicting theories De Petra *op. cit.* 27 explains an obscure passage in Solinus 2, 9: Parthenope a Parthenopae Sirenis sepulchro, quam Augustus postea Neapolim esse maluit. He emends *Neapolim* to *Neapoli,* and understands *quam* as an allusion to the Siren. The sentence then means that Augustus, judging the two versions, decided for the tomb at Neapolis.

(4) Fabio Giordano (quoted by Capasso-De Petra, *op. cit.* 197 (277); Capaccio, *Historia Neapolitana* 34; Pontano, *De bello Neapolitano* VI, 143 (ed. Gravier, Naples 1769).

(5) De Petra *op. cit.* 20 f.; Capasso-De Petra, *op. cit.* 198; Pirro, *Nuovo contributo alla storia e topografia di Napoli greca* in *Studi stor. per l'antichità classica* V (1912) 289.

water, and it is needless to add that the archaeological evidence sometimes adduced to support their theories is valueless (1).

Lycophron, alluding to the Siren's arrival, says that she was received near the tower of Phalerum and the Clanius River, where the natives prepared for her a tomb (2). In this allusion the poet has in mind the Sebethus, which flows into the sea not far from the city; employing the names « river » and «fortress », he refers to the city's territory as a whole, and there is nothing in his language as stated by Beloch to show that he wished to indicate especially the mouth of the stream as the location of the tomb (3). Beloch's own opinion that it stood at the entrance of the harbor southwest of the *Porto Piccolo* is based upon the belief that Parthenope was a sea divinity, whom the citizens wished to protect their shipping. But Parthenope was worshipped more as a hero or chthonic power than as a real sea goddess such as Euploea or Leucothea, and the passages cited to prove the proposed location are without importance. The term *portus* in the statement of Statius that the Siren established herself in a western harbor, designates Neapolis in general without any emphasis on the actual coast line (4).

In the case of Strabo, who uses the word δείκνυται in reference to the grave, Beloch asserts that the author was following a *Periplus*, which pointed out the monument as something visible from a passing ship (5). But while the general order of localities treated in this part of the Geography suggests such a source, there is nothing to indicate that it was followed in handling details. When we consider the material that both precedes and follows the passage under discussion, we must either admit that the *Periplus* did not

(1) Capasso-De Petra, *op. cit.* 197-198.

(2) Lyc. *Alex*, 717.

(3) Beloch 77. Cp. Garrucci, *Le monete dell'Italia antica* 82.

(4) Stat. *sil.* IV, 4,52: Ubi Ausonio se condit hospita portu Parthenope. Cp. Vollmer's *Statius* p. 436, note to III, 5, 79.

(5) Strab. V, 4, 7: Μετὰδὲ Δικαιάρχειάν ἐστι Νεάπολις Κυμαίων--- ὅπου δείκνυται μνῆμα τῶν Σειρήνων μιᾶς Παρθενόπης, καὶ ἄγων συντελεῖται γυμνικὸς κατὰ μαντείαν. Beloch *loc. cit.*

limit itself to an enumeration of prominent objects on the shore or that the author did not follow it carefully, - in either case finding no clue to the location of the tomb. Moreover Beloch himself in another place has avoided the difficulty by supposing that no *Periplus*, such as that of Artemidorus, was exclusively used in this section of the work but that instead there were large additions from other sources, chiefly Timaeus (1). It is noteworthy that the word appears elsewhere in quite a different connection, in an expository passage where there could be no employment of a *Periplus* (2). In truth the word employed is merely the natural one to adopt in both passages in alluding to a show place of the city, - a memorial to which every Neapolitan would point with pride, and which had been shown to Strabo as to visitors in general. But while these citations prove nothing about the location of the tomb, it was likely that it was situated somewhere along the coast simply because the Siren's body was washed ashore by the waves. As the graves of Palinurus and Misenus occupied lofty promontories, so the sepulcher of Parthenope in accordance with the words of Statius should have some sightly location on the shore; the exact place can not be determined (3).

Some numismatists have recognized the Siren in the female head which appears on Neapolitan silver coins in endless variety from the earliest period (4). She is generally represented in profile but also appears full faced with streaming hair, thus recalling Syracusan money with the likeness of Arethusa. Evans promulgated a theory that the Syracusan money was influenced by that of Neapolis; but this seems less plausible than to suppose that the latter was affected by

(1) Beloch, *Le fonti di Strabone nella descrizione della Campania* in *Atti dei Lincei* series III, X (1882) 442; Geffcken, *Timaios' Geographie des Westens* 37.

(2) Strab. I, 2, 13:..... ἐν Νεαπόλει Παρθενόπης δείκνυται μνῆμα μιᾶς τῶν Σειρήνων.

(3) Stat. *sil.* V, 3, 104 relates that she was buried upon a wind-swept mountain (adflato monte). But there is nothing to connect these words with the medieval *Porta Ventosa* above the harbor near the University. Cp. De Petra, *Atti Nap.* XXV (1908) 23 (2).

(4) A. Sambon 193 f.; Head *Hist. num.* 38; Gardner, *The Types of Greek Coins* Pl. XI, Nos. 11, 14; Garrucci, Pl. 84.

the former (1). Older scholars thought these heads a representation of Artemis, and some of the more recent authorities see in them Nice or a personification of the Genius of the city (2). But the Siren herself has all the attributes of a Genius or protecting spirit, and when the indubitable importance of her cult is taken into consideration, it is difficult to believe that the coinage was not to some degree influenced by it, or that another Genius could exist by her side endowed with enough vigor to maintain her independence (3). The latter would tend to blend with the former and thus lose her individual identity. The use of Nice on these coins is not improbable in itself, but seems less likely than the omission in the coinage of any trace of the distinctive deity of the city (4).

The influence of the Siren worship still lingers among the people of Naples, and this deity has given a name to an important class of amulets against the terrors of the « evil eye ». These *sirene* belong for the most part to the variety of prophylactics that are hung up in a house to protect the inmates, and are of two general kinds. In the one class the Siren appears alone either as a bird with human head or, as is more often the case, in the form of a woman wearing a crown, whose body terminates in a double fish tail adorned with silver bells. In the second class she is borne by two sea-horses, also a powerful protection against malign influences (5).

(1) Evans, *Syracusan « Medallions » and their Engravers* in *Num. Chron.* series III, IX (1891) 279 f. The intermediate model for the Neapolitan issues was probably Terina. Pais, *Ancient Italy* 191=*Ricerche stor. e geogr.* 239; A. Sambon, *Les monnaies antiques de l'Italie* I, 173, and *La cronologia delle monete di Neapolis* in *Riv. Ital. di Numis.* XV (1902) 121 f.; But cp. Correra, *Le più antiche monete di Napoli* in *Rend. Nap.* XVI (1902) 97-98; L. Sambon, *Les monnaies de la presqu'île italique* 147.

(2) Eckhel, *Doctr. num. vet.* I, 112; Ilberg, Roscher III, 1654; A. Sambon, *Riv. ital. di numis.* XV (1902) 121.

(3) Gardner *op. cit.* 45; Garrucci 82; von Duhn, *Der Dioskurentempel in Neapel* 14.

(4) Cp. Eckhel, *loc. cit.*; Head 39; De Luynes, *Ann. Inst.* XIII (1841) 132; A. Sambon, I, 173, 176. This identification is accepted by Grose, *Some Rare Coins of Magna Graecia* in *Num. Chron.* LXIII (1916) 202.

(5) Elworthy, *The Evil Eye* 357 and *Evil Eye* in Hastings *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics;* Neville-Rolfe, *Naples* in *Encycl. Britannica* (11) XIX, 181; S. Seligman, *Der Böseblick und Verwandtes* II, 148, 310.

ZEUS.

No mention has been preserved of a cult of Zeus or Jupiter. Yet Zeus was unquestionably prominent in the religious life of Cumae and in that of a still older ancestor Chalcis, and ordinarily had a shrine in Greek communities. These indications, therefore, point to the presence of a sanctuary here and to a cult that attained only a secondary rank because of the unusual prominence of other gods. Capasso assigned to Neapolis a cult of Jupiter Flazzus, but the origin of the inscription which he used for evidence is uncertain (1). Attempts have been made to determine the location of a temple here; thus Capasso thought that ancient remains uncovered beneath the Cathedral should be referred to that edifice, and Fabio Giordano long ago wished to associate it with the site of the church of the SS. Apostoli in the northeastern corner of the ancient city (2). But in this case as in many others which have been treated by local topographers, the identification rests upon no competent evidence.

APOLLO.

Apollo is enumerated as one of the *dii patrii* who in the form of a bird pointed out the way across the sea to the ancestors of the Neapolitans, when they founded the first Greek colony in Italy. For this reason he received the grateful adoration of the city. Günther sees an allusion to Apollo's guidance in the figure of a dove in a glass mosaic of the first century A. D. which was found at Posilipo. But this more probably is a mere decorative design (3). Apollo' s image

(1) See the addenda p. 396.

(2) Capasso-De Petra, *Napoli greco-romana* 61; Fabio Giordano, unpublished *Historia Neapolitana,* quoted by Capasso-De Petra 174 (130).

(3) Stat. *sil.* IV, 8, 45-49.

> Di patrii, quos auguriis super aequora magn's
> litus ad Ausonium deuexit Abantia classis,
> tu, ductor populi longe migrantis, Apollo
> cuius adhuc uolucrem laeua ceruice sedentem
> respiciens blande felix Eumelis adorat.

von Duhn, *op. cit.* 12; Günther, *Pausilypon* 89 and *A Mural Glass Mosaic* in *Archaeologia* LXIII (1911-12) 105 (the mosaic reproduced in both works). Cp. Macchioro, *Neapolis* II (1914-15) 364. The motive is not infrequent in mosaics. See Rüsch, *Guida* Nos. 161, 173.

is recognized upon silver didrachmas of the second half of the fourth century B. C. and also upon silver obols of the same period. These issues, which have on the reverse in one case the figure of a horseman and in the other that of Heracles throttling a lion, are undoubtedly due to the influence of Tarentum, a city with which Neapolis had important business relations (1). But the employment of the head of Apollo to mark the obverse is due rather to the local importance of the god, as he does not figure prominently in the coinage of Tarentum. A little later, at the beginning of the third century he appears upon three obol pieces, also of silver, where he is always the youthful deity laurel crowned (2). Still more frequently he forms the design upon pieces of bronze, and indeed his likeness was in use all through the fourth and third centuries B. C. as long as the city issued money. His face is the regular device in five of the eight important divisions of the city's bronze money (3). The figure of a tripod upon one division of the coinage in this metal is a reminiscence of this god. While its presence may be easily accounted for as an effect of the local cult of Apollo, the adoption of this particular symbol is perhaps due to outside influence (4).

Although there is every indication that this god was much esteemed and publicly honored, it is not likely that he was one of the more popular divinities in the sense of receiving requests to meet specific needs. Evidence for votive offerings is lacking save in one instance, and here he is no longer a pure Greek divinity, but has been merged in the Egyptian Horus-Harpocrates in connection with the worship of Isis (5). He certainly had a temple, probably of imposing character, in which stood a cult statue with a dove perched upon the left shoulder. This then was itself a very ancient image, or

(1) A. Sambon p. 180 and Nos. 396, 427-434. Cp. also Nos. 423-426. Head, *op. cit.* 62.

(2) A. Sambon 244, Nos. 553-559.

(3) A. Sambon 246 f.

(4) The tripod figures especially on the money of Croton. Head 95; P. Gardner, *The Types of Greek Coins* XVI No. 1.

(5) See p. 215.

reproduced faithfully the old tradition (1). Not far away was the statue of a nymph called Eumelis, who is probably identical with Parthenope. There is no reason for putting these statues, as von Duhn thinks, either in the temple of the Dioscuri or near the tomb of the Siren (2).

The location of the sanctuary is doubtful. During the Middle Ages the present Strada del Duomo, passing through the central part of the old Greek walled city from north to south bore the name *Radii Solis*. This was supposedly derived from a temple of Apollo as god of the sun, and therefore the early antiquarians sought to locate the edifice on this Street on the site of the present Cathedral (3). A somewhat more probable location is the attiguous church of S. Restituta going back to the seventh century (4). This now forms the northern part of the Cathedral edifice and faces toward the *Strada Anticaglia,* which corresponds to the upper *decumanus* of the old city, one of its three main arteries of traffic. Such a location is in accord with the theory developed by Beloch that the temples of the three principal cults included in the term *dii patrii* were located each on a different *decumanus,* and that the most northerly of these three streets, because of the temple situated upon it, received its name from the god (5). But the site of the church of the SS. Apostoli, which was proposed by Beloch himself, seems too remote from the center of town for so important a public cult (6).

(1) Stat. *loc. cit.* and *s'l.* III, 5, 80: Ipse Dionaea monstrauit Apollo columba. Vell. I, 4: Huius classis cursum esse directum alii columbae antecedentis uolatu ferunt. Summonte, *Historia di Napoli* I, 85.

(2) von Duhn, *op. cit.* 14.

(3) So in the sixteenth century Fobio Giordano, who speaks of architectural remains including huge columns of great height and thickness (quoted by Capasso-De Petra 176 (147); in the eighteenth century Tutini, *Dell'origine e fundatione de' seggi di Napoli* 17. Cp. Corcia, *Storia delle due Sicilie* II, 239.

(4) Capasso-De Petra, *op. cit.* 59; Sorrentino, *La basilica costantiniana,* in *Atti Nap.* XXV (1908) parte seconda 274.

(5) Beloch 70.

(6) Capasso-De Petra *op. cit.* 58.

DEMETER.

Demeter, introduced at Cumae by the Chalcidians, was brought in turn to Neapolis, where a flourishing cult soon developed. This was further strengthened by the influx of Athenian settlers; its ceremonies received the peculiar Attic impress, and the goddess henceforth could be properly described under that epithet (Actaea) (1). While she was primarily an earth divinity and so interested in agriculture, she was venerated here particularly as Thesmophorus, a title which apparently alludes to her function as a patroness of orderly civil society, but which in reality, as shown by Farnell, indicates her power to promote fertility. Actually she was chiefly a goddess who protected women, and it may be inferred that here as elsewhere the festivals appropriate to her cult were celebrated by this element of the population (2). The Athenian influence in promoting the cult of Demeter-Thesmophorus is unmistakable but it is more questionable whether, as is sometimes assumed, there was here a branch of the Eleusinian mysteries (3). From the passage of Statius cited above it is clear that there was some kind of ceremony of a mystic character in which the bearing of torches was a prominent feature. Here the initiates with silent but rapid course acted a sort of religious drama, as they accompanied Demeter, the sorrowing mother, in her search for the kidnapped Persephone (4). Capasso supposed that competitions in poetry, if not in athletics, were held in conjunction with festivals of this divinity, and cited a passage of Statius, who speaks of receiving at Neapolis *Cerealia dona*. But the reference is rather to wreaths of grain which the victorious competitor in poetry

(1) Stat. *sil.* IV, 8, 50, quoted on p. 64 (1) Cp. Capasso-De Petra, *Napoli greco-romana* 77.

(2) Bloch, *Kora und Demeter*, Roscher II, 1329, 1331; Kern, *Demeter*, P.-W. IV, 2752; Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* III, 75 f., 105.

(3) Bloch, Roscher II, 1337; Gruppe 1496; Farnell 201.

(4) Foucarat, *Les mystéres d'Eleusis* 464; Farnell III, 181; Capasso-De Petra 78, 184 (212).

received at the celebrated games in honor of Augustus (1).

The priesthood of Demeter, which sometimes at least was held for life, was considered an honor worthy of matrons in the highest social position. Two of their names have been preserved. The first is that of Tettia Casta, who died in 71 A. D. after having filled her office in an exemplary manner; in return for her faithfulness as well as her liberality in providing statues of the gods to beautify the city she received the tribute of a statue and a crown and was buried at public expense (2). The other priestess, recorded in an inscription the genuineness of which has been doubted, was the matron Cominia Plutegenia, who clearly belonged to a family of some note (3). A third is mentioned in an inscription found at Pompeii, which some scholars have treated as of Neapolitan origin because the divinity is called *legifera* and a Greek version precedes the Latin (4). It will be treated among the cults of Pompei.

Neapolis was extremely influential in spreading and popularizing the worship of Demeter throughout Italy. At the close of the period of the Roman Republic, after Cumae had suffered a great decline, this city and Velia were the two great centers for the propagation of the Demeter cult in its original Greek form. According to a statement of Cicero the priestesses who served the goddess at Rome came from these localities, and the women who are named in inscriptions attributed to Pompeii and Puteoli perhaps had a similar origin (5). In an inscription already cited there is apparently an allusion to a band of women living near the temple who devoted them-

(1) Capasso-De Petra, *op. cit.* 184 (212); Stat. *sil.* V. 3, 225-227:

> Ei mihi quod tantum patrias ego uertice frondes
> so'aque Chalcidicae Cerealia dona coronae
> te sub teste tuli.

(2) *I. G.* XIV, 760=*C. I. G.* 5838=Vaglieri 1735.

(3) *I. G.* XIV, 756a=*C. I. G.* 5799=Vaglieri 1740.

(4) *I. G.* XIV, 702=*C. I. G.* 5865=Vaglieri 1865. Τερεντία Παραμόνη ἱέρεια Δήμητρος Θεσμοφόρου. Cp. the comment of Franz on No. 5865: Beloch 52; Capasso-De Petra, *op. cit.* 78.

(5) C'c. *Balb.* 55: Has sacerdotes uideo fere aut Neapolitanas aut Velienses fuisse, foederatarum sine dubio ciuitatum. *C. I. L.* X, 1812; *I. G.* XIV, 702. See p. 26.

selves to the goddess under the charge of a priestess (1). Perhaps these women formed a school of instruction from which experts in ritual went out to supply demands from other communities.

The location of her temple is unknown, but as usual the historians and antiquarians of Naples have given several opinions on the subject. Fabio Giordano put it where the church of S. Giorgio Maggiore now stands, while Capaccio and Corcia more plausibly favored the site of S. Gregorio Armenio; in any case it is supposed to have stood in the southern part of the city (2). According to Beloch's hypothesis it was located in this district on the lower *decumanus* to which the goddess in consequence gave her name (3). It should be noted that if this view is true, the shrine was much more centrally located than seems to have been the case at Cumae, Pompeii and perhaps in other Campanian towns.

DIOSCURI.

The last divinities included by Statius in his roll of *dii patrii* are Castor and Pollux, who received here the same veneration as at Sparta. (4) No definite information is at hand about their functions, but they must have been the special

(1) *I. G.* XIV, 760=*C. I. G.* 5838, where ἱερός is supplied. ὁ (ἱερὸς) τῶν γυναικῶν οἶκος ; Capasso-De Petra *op. cit.* 78.

(2) Fabio Giordano, cited by Capasso-De Petra, op. *cit.* 184; Capaccio, *Historia Neapolitana* I, 189; Corcia, *Storia delle due Sicilie* II, 215. It is reported that statues and columns were removed from S. Gregorio as well as reliefs representing the rape of Persephone and the search of Demeter. A high relief, depicting a devotee with torch and basket is cited by Capasso as beneath the arch of the tower of this church, Capasso-De Petra *op. cit.* 78.

(3) Beloch 70.

(4) Stat. *sil.* IV, 8, 52:

> ----et uos, Tyndaridae, quos non horrenda Lycurgi
> Taygeta umbrosaeque magis coluere Therapnae.

The statement of Miss Taylor in reference to Ostia (*Cults of Ostia* 25) that the Dioscuri are not known to have had a temple in any other port town must be taken to include only those of Roman foundation; otherwise it is contradicted by the example of Neapolis. But as the author cites Puteoli in the same passage, the assertion seems intended to be of general application.

protectors of the cavalry and of seamen. (1) A series of bronze coins, exhibiting on one side a beardless male face and on the other a galloping horseman, has been regarded as a reference to the Dioscuri, but this identification is not certain. (2) With the supposition that these figures really allude to the Twins, it is not necessary to see the influence of Tarentum, for the local cult was important enough to account for their presence. (3) The dedication of statues of the Dioscuri in the year 171 A. D. by two athletes, who were victorious in the quinquennial games has already been discussed. In that instance these gods were brought into connection with the phratry of the Eumelidai. (4)

Unlike the temples of Apollo and Demeter, that of Castor and Pollux can be definitely located, and in fact a portion of it has continued to remain till the present. Its survival is due to the circumstance that it was incorporated into the church of S. Paolo Maggiore at the beginning of the ninth century, an event recorded in an inscription of the Renaissance. (5) The cult of the Dioscuri was therefore carried on in the very center of the old town in the northwestern corner of the Forum; (6) the entrance of the shrine faced the central *decumanus*, which followed the line of the modern *Strada de' Tribunali*. This building was undertaken by T. Iulius Tarsus, who agreed to provide not only the building but also the various accessories

(1) See p. 66.

(2) A. Sambon 192 and series VIII 278; Garrucci 83.

(3) Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. VI (1857) 59.

(4) *I. G.* XIV 748.

(5) Et dirutis marmoribus Castori et Polluci falsis diis dicatis, nunc Petro et Paulo ueris diuis ad faciliorem ascensum opus faciendum curauerunt clerici regulares MDLXXVIII. The transformation is further alluded to in couplets inscribed on the front of the church beneath the figures of Peter and Paul.

> Audiit uel surdus, Pollux cum Castore Petrum
> nec mora, praecipiti marmore uterque ruit.
> Tyndaridas uox missa ferit, palma integra Petri est,
> diuidit ac tecum, Paule, trophea libens.

John the Deacon, *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* (for the years 801-607) 50 in Waitz, *Scriptores rerum Longobardicarum et Italicarum* 428.

(6) The location of this temple in the Forum was recognized as far back as Fabio Giordano quoted by Capasso-De Petra, *Napoli greco-romana* 178 (154). Cp. von Duhn, *Der Dioskurentempel in Neapel* 5.

of worship contained within it. He seems not to have lived to finish his undertaking, as it was completed and dedicated by a freedman named Pelagon. This inscription was chiselled upon the architrave in two lines; the original does not exist except in a small fragment recovered in 1901, but it was copied earlier when the facade of the temple was still in place. (1) As Iulius Tarsus was probably a freedman of Tiberius the Emperor, and Pelagon seems to have been a eunuch mentioned as an officer under Nero, the date of the edifice to which the inscription alludes is indicated as about the middle of the first century of our era. (2)

Of course this was not the first building dedicated to these deities at Neapolis, and Mallardo is clearly mistaken in using it as an example of a cult which received a shrine only at a late day. (3) There must have been a structure dedicated to them on this spot from the date of the arrival of settlers from Cumae, and it has been pointed out as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century that such a state of affairs is proved by the remains of the foundation walls, which include large rectangular blocks of stone as well as later stretches of *opus reticulatum*. (4) The plan of the Imperial temple has been methodically worked out by Rega. (5) Architecturally considered it belonged to the prostyle variety with six Corinthian columns extending in a line across the front and two more at the sides of the *pronaos*. This vestibule was reached by a long flight of

(1) *I. G.* XIV. 714 *C. I. G.* 5791: Τιβέριος Ἰούλιους Τάρσος Διοσκούροις καὶ τῇ πόλει τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ναῷ Πελάγων Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος καὶ ἐπίτροπος συντελέσας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καθιέρωσεν. Spinazzola, *La iscrizione greca del tempio dei Dioscuri* in *Arch. stor. Nap.* XXV (1901) 315.

(2) Capasso-De Petra, *op. cit.* 79; Correra, *Il tempio dei Dioscuri a Napoli* in *Atti Nap.* XXIII (1905) part 2,214; Franz, *C. I. G.* No. 5791; Beloch 73; von Duhn, *op cit.* 8.

(3) Mallardo, *Memorie Nap.* II (1913) 166; cp. Summonte, *Historia di Napoli* I, 87.

(4) Capaccio, *Historia Neapolitana* I, 190; Summonte, op. cit. I 80; Correra, *loc. cit.*; von Duhn 9; Beloch *loc. cit.* In the seventeenth century «Guides» a fantastic opinion prevails that the temple of the Dioscuri was preceded by one of Apollo on the same site. Cp. Sarnelli, *Guida di Napoli* 117; Summonte, *op. cit.* I 85.

(5) Rega, *Le vestigia del tempio di Castore e Polluce.*

steps greater in number than the one which serves the church today, as the level of the ancient pavement was considerably lower than at present. The pediment was filled with a series of sculptures representing a group of divinities harmoniously arranged to fill all the available space. The main part of the building was a commodious cella. (1)

To judge from the remarks of a traveler Cyriacus, who visited Naples in 1437 and tells of seeing a temple of Castor and Pollux, a considerable part of the shrine seems to have stood through the Middle Ages (2). In 1590 began an extensive restoration after which only the portico of eight columns remained from the ancient structure; its pediment, however, was still adorned with sculptured fragments in high relief of various gods of which only the central part was missing. (3) They included Apollo, Sebethus (or Oceanus ?), a personification of Campania and others whose identity is problematical. The whole of the portico was demolished by a violent earthquake in 1688 with the exception of two of the pillars, which still stand in their old places. Two torsos belonging to large sculptured figures were discovered during the rebuilding of the church and were built into the front wall. They have been identified as Castor and Pollux, but whether they served as *acroteria* on the summit of the gable or stood in the middle of the pediment is disputed. (4)

Here as in many other cases where temples were transformed into churches the old ideas connected with the place largely remained. The two saints Peter and Paul took over the activity of Castor and Pollux as gods who influenced the

(1) The reconstruction of the temple is pictured by Rega *op. cit.* 1; von Duhn 9; Capasso-De Petra Pl. XII; Correra 227.

(2) Cyriacus, quoted by Kaibel *I. G.* XIV, 714 and at greater length by Mommsen *C. I. L.* X, p. XXXVI.

(3) A design of the front of the building drawn in 1540 by Francesco d'Olanda shows that the central sculptures had already fallen. Cp. von Duhn 9. Various references to the building occur in the work of the sixteenth century writers such as Pighius and Surgente. The history of the building is given by Correra 214.

(4) Capasso-De Petra 187; Rega 12; von Duhn 12-20; Correra 224. They are said to have fallen miraculously as the result of a visit of St. Peter. Correra 225.

weather. They became Neapolitan weather saints; one opened and the other closed the floodgates of Heaven. (1)

Another saint, however, more commonly assumed the prerogatives of the Twins as saviors on the sea. This was St. Elmo, whose name is generally explained as a corruption of St. Erasmus. (2) It has been suspected that on the spot where the castle of S. Elmo now stands there was situated previously a chapel of the saint and still earlier a shrine of Castor and Pollux. In both cases patrons of navigation would be appropriately honored. (3)

HERACLES.

As elsewhere in Campania the worship of Heracles or Hercules flourished at Neapolis, where he is said to have tarried on his journey from Spain to Sicily. That it was introduced here by the Rhodians and not derived through the medium of Cumae has already been declared to be its most probable origin. (4) An inscription ascribed to this city records the fact that the inhabitants of the *regio Herculanensis* decreed a statue to a benefactor Munatius Concessianus. (5) Documents of the Middle Ages which mention this district by the name *Herculensis* call it also *furcillensis*, thus apparently indicating the quarter of the present *Strada Forcella*. Pontano who evidently refers to the same place, mentions a district *ad Her-*

(1) Trede, *Das Heidentum in der röm. Kirche* II, 313; Jaisle, *Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See bei Griechen und Römern* 38, 39.

(2) *Acta sanctorum* June I, 213, C; *Encycl. Britannica*, St. Elmo's Fire XXIV, 1. But cp. R. Harris, *Boanerges* 206.

(3) Jaisle, *op. cit.* 69. Cp. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art.* II, 700; Harris, *Cult of the Heavenly Twins* in *Trans. of the Third Inter. Congress for the History of Religions* (1908) II, 176. For the traditions attached to this saint see *Acta Sanctorum* June I, 206 f. Harris, *Boanerges* 201 (6), demonstrating the displacement of the Dioscuri by St. Michael, cites a church dedicated to that saint which was destroyed by the last great outbreak of Mt. Vesuvius, but does not give its precise location.

(4) Dion. Hal. I, 43.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 1492=D. 5459=Vagheri 1732: Concessiani. L. Munatio Concessiano ------obque testimonia amor[i] sincerissimi reg. primaria splendidissima Herculanensium patrono mirabili statuam ponendam decreuit.

culis uiam. (1) The region denoted by the name of Heracles thus lay in the eastern part of town, and in this locality near the *Porta Furcillensis* Gabrici decides that he had a shrine. (2) His name has been likewise preserved in connection with the church of S. Maria ad Ercole (near S. Agostino), which was later called S. Elegio de' ferrari. (3) A reference to the god is seen upon the reverse of silver obols of the second half of the fourth century B. C., where he is portrayed in the act of strangling a lion. (4) The same obols and bronze money of the same period or a little later exhibit a beardless, laurel crowned head, which is sometimes identified as a representation of Apollo. But the broad neck and somwhat coarse features of this figure are more suitable for Hercules than for the other divinity. (5) Although this series may show Tarentine influence as is believed by most numismatists, this supposition is unnecessary to account for the presence of the god whose cult was of considerable importance in the community. (6)

A Latin inscription refers to the construction of an *aedicula* by the demarch P. Vergilius Restitutus in honor of Hercules Inuictus. Capasso wished to locate it near the *Strada Anticaglia* in the northern part of the old town, because the inscription was found there, but this circumstance offers no acceptable evidence. (7) If Neapolis was the Greek city which Petronius had in mind, another reference may be added to the

(1) *Libellus miraculorum S. Agrippini*, quoted by Capasso, *Monumenta ad Neapolitani ducatus historiam pertinentia* I, 325 and Mazochio, *De sanctorum Neapolitanae ecclesiae episcoporum cultu* 342. Capasso-De Petra, *Napoli greco-romana* 169, (98); Correra, *Riv. it. di num.* XVI (1903) 191; Pontano, *De bello Neapolitano* (ed. Gravier, Naples 1769) 144.

(2) Gabrici, *Reliquie di Napoli antica in Atti dell'accad. pont.* XIX (1914) memoria 7 bis, 1, 10.

(3) Capasso-De Petra, *op. cit.* 170 (109).

(4) A. Sambon I, 219 Nos. 427-434.

(5) The identification with Apollo is favored by A. Sambon (doubtfully) 180 (cp. 270 No. 705); Poole, *Cat. Gr. Coins in the Brit. Mus. Italy* 108; Garrucci 85 Nos. 23, 24. The claims of Hercules are advanced by Dressel, *Beschreibung der antiken Münzen* III 123 No. 143 and by Correra, Osservazioni intorno ad una moneta di *Neapolis* in *Riv. it. di num.* XVI (1903) 193. Other numismatists as Head *Hist. rum.* (1) 33 leave the question undecided.

(6) Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. VI (1858) 59. Hercules appears in the Campanian region on the coinage of Capua and Teanum.

(7) C. *I. L. X*, 1478 = D. 6454.

evidence for Heracles. Here there is an allusion to the portico of his temple, where Lichas had been insulted. (1) That there was a temple at Neapolis besides the *aedicula* alluded to above may be accepted without question, but it is more difficult to determine its site. Certain local topographers supposed that it occupied the site of one of the churches in the southeastern part of the city. Later students identified its location with that of the important church of S. Giovanni Maggiore near the southwestern edge of the old town and the harbor. (2) As a marble head of the youth Antinous was discovered here, it was once supposed that a temple had been erected in this spot by the Emperor Hadrian for his favorite either alone or as a member of a Pantheon. (3) In accordance with this belief an inscription giving a history of the edifice was placed above the church door; it begins with the words; *templum hoc ab Hadriano imp. exstructum*. But fragments of inscriptions discovered about the vicinity of the building indicate that it was constructed by one of the Emperors preceding Hadrian. During a restoration of the church a fragmentary inscription in honor of Hercules was uncovered, which has lent probability to the suggestion that he had a shrine here. But the frequency with which pieces of marble were carried away from their original site and employed in building operations elsewhere does not permit a sure identification. (4) Pontano claims to have beheld many « monumenta » of this god. (5).

(1) Petron. 106: Sed Lichas memor adhuc uxoris corruptae contumeliarum quas in Herculis portico acceperat-----.

(2) Capasso-De Petra, *op. cit.* 170 (109).

(3) Pontano, *De Bello Neapolitano* VI 146 (ed. of Gravier Naples 1769); Fabio Giordano, quoted by Lasena, *Dell'antico ginnasio napoletano* 104; Ignarra, *De Phratriis* 201. The latter believed that Hadrian had instituted a Pantheon, wishing to minimize the apparent attention to Antinous. This opinion is still held by Trede, *Das Heidentum in d. röm. Kirche* I, 9.

(4) *I. G.* XIV, 731; Garrucci in *Galiani Rivista napoletana* II (1873) Feb. 22 (known to me only in the citation of Capassa-De Petra 201 (295) erroneously saw an allusion to Tiberius; Caligula ,Claudius, or Nero may have been named. Sogliano *Di un' epigrafe greca in Arch. stor. Nap.* I (1876) 565 is mistaken in asserting as a proof for the temple here that no other shrine of Hercules could be found between Cumae and the promontory of Minerva. All that can safely be said is that their existence can not be absolutely proved.

(5) Pontano, *op. cit.* VI 144. For the possibility of Heracles as a god worshipped in one of the phratries see p. 172.

DIONYSUS.

As elsewhere in Campania the cult of Dionysus flourished at Neapolis, and this locality did its part in the propagation of the mysteries which developed such excesses in the North. The god was revered under the designation Hebon, a form of the cult which has not been found elsewhere. The name seems to allude to his natural physical vigor and his youthful zest for life; yet he was not portrayed as a youth but rather as an old man of the type adopted by the Greeks for the depiction of Dionysus Bassareus. (1) In giving reasons for supposing that Apollo and Liber Pater stand for the same deity, Macrobius says that the latter was conceived under different forms representing various ages, one of which was that of an elderly bearded personage whom the Neapolitans revered as Hebon. (2) He was also regularly described by a secondary epithet ἐπιφανέστατος, an inclusive word referring to his illustrious character and more especially to his power and willingness to give ready aid. (3) Two inscriptions mention him with this title; one is a dedication by C. Iunius Aquila, who held the principal official positions in the city, the other by P. Plotinus Glycerus has reference to his initiation into the Dionysiac mysteries. (4)

Nothing is known about the details of this ritual in spite of the repeated appearance of Dionysus upon Campanian vases. From this source it appears that a female deity was closely associated with him, either Cora or a similar goddess. Lenormant maintained that this divinity was Hebe on the analogy

(1) Cp. Hesychius ἡβᾶν ; Preller-Robert 717; Roscher, *Hebon*, Roscher I, 1871; Steuding, *Flora*, Roscher I, 1484; Poland, *Gesch. d. gr. Vereinwesens* 226; Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre* II, 616, who derives from Ἥβη.

(2) Macrob. I, 18, 9: Item Liberi patris simulacra partim puerili aetate, partim iuueni's fingunt. Praeterea barbata specie, senili quoque, uti Graeci eius quem Βασσαρέα, item quem Βρισέα appellant et ut in Campania Neapolitani celebrant Ἥβωνα cognominantes. Farnell rightly calls attention to the fact that the passage just cited represents the god in human form and not as tauriform with human face, - the asertion of F. Lenormant, *Bacchus*, D.-S. I, 620. Farnell V, 251 (d).

(3) Franz, *C. I. G.* note to No. 5790.

(4) *I. G.* XIV, 716 = *C. I. G.* 5790 = Vaglieri 1081.

of the Dionysus cult at Phlius in Argolis, where Dia-Hebe had a part in the worship. (1) In the ceremonies there was probably a dramatic representation of the future life. (2) The initiates were called ἥβοι or *iuuenes*, a name harmonizing with the cult epithet and the real nature of the god rather than with his actual appearance. (3) The language used in reference to Glycerus indicates that he had reached the highest degree of perfection possible, therefore it tends to show that there was a regular stage of advancement as was elsewhere common. (4) From the reading of the text it is uncertain whether the board of *laukelarchoi*, who chose him to be senator also took charge of his initiation. The duties of these commissioners are not well understood and it is problematical whether they should be classed as a priesthood. Capasso's interpretation that they were priests of Dionysus rests upon a queer mistranslation of the inscription last mentioned, by which he represents Glycerus as selected to become one of the *laukelarchoi* and afterwards as initiated into the mystery of the same priesthood. (5)

Another inscription unearthed in the site of the theater refers to a different phase of the cult. It is a marble pedestal containing a statement of the victories of the flute player P. Aelius Antigenides, a citizen of both Neapolis and Nicomedia, who was a demarch in the former city as well as high priest of the sacred guild of the theater (ἡ ἱερὰ σύνοδος θυμελτικῆ). The inscription is dated later than 138 A. D. and probably belongs to the reign of Antoninus, when the society seems to have reached the acme of its power. (6) This association under

(1) Paus. II, 13, 3; Strab. VIII, 6, 24; Lenormant, *Bacchus*, D.-S. I, 637 and *La grande Grèce* I, 407; Thalheim, *Hebe*, P.-W. VII, 2580.

(2) Farnell V, 239 (b). Cp. the cult of Dionysus at Tarentum, Evans, *Jour. Hell. Stud.* VII (1886) 10.

(3) Poland, *Gesch d. gr. Vereinswesens* 97 (3).

(4) Capasso-De Petra, *Napoli greco-romana*, 163 (41).

(5) Capasso-De Petra 3: Al dio splendidissimo Ebone P. Plozio Glicero eletto a far parte dell'illustrissimo consiglio dei laucelarchi, e dopo di essere stato secondo il costume interamente e perfettamente iniziato al ministero di questo sacerdozio, divenuto professo consacrò (il presente dono) con Licinio Pudenziano iuniore etc. Cp. Kaibel, *I. G.* XIV, 192.

(6) *I. G.* XIV, 737; Minervini, *Notizie di alcune scoperte in Napoli* in *Bull. Nap.* n. s. VII (1859) 73; Poland *op. cit.* 145.

the patronage of Dionysus included in its membership poets, musicians and actors, - all in short whose business brought them into contact with the stage; it was a cosmopolitan society whose members were largely transients and had branches under the Empire in the leading cities. (1) At Neapolis it flourished under the Republic. In the turmoil that followed Caesar's assassination we are told that Brutus made a journey to Neapolis to procure many artists of the guild of Dionysus for use at Rome in his efforts to amuse the people. (2) In the reign of Hadrian, who especially favored the actors and hence received from them the title of the new Dionysus, the society at Neapolis passed a decree in honor of T. Iulius Dolabella, who at least at a later time was a prominent citizen of Nemausus (Nîmes) in Gaul, The service rendered to the actors by Dolabella is unknown, nor is it clear why the decree was passed at Neapolis. (3) Since the religious services in the association and the cult of Dionysus were doubtless a prominent feature of its activity, the high priesthood seems to have been an office of honor. (4)

Without any particular evidence Capasso wished to place a temple of Dionysus Hebon in the southwestern quarter of the old city at or near the church of S. Severino, where certain remains of walls have been discovered. (5) A sixteenth century writer Pighius speaks of seeing a round altar used as the bowl of a fountain with reliefs of the Sirens, Hebon, and Sebethus, which, if the notice is dependable, would be important as suggesting a ritualistic relationship between these deities. (6) But the Sirens as a group were not worshipped at Neapolis, and the association of gods seems unlikely for religious purposes. If the group is not merely decorative, the writer is mistaken in his report, or has invented the whole

(1) Lüders, *Die dionysischen Künstler* 93 f. Cp. so; Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte* II (8) 90; Foucart, *De collegiis scenicorum artificum apud Graecos* 92 f.; Walzing, *Les corporations professionnelles* IV 120.

(2) Plut. *Brutus* 21: καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν αὐτὸς εἰς Νέαν πόλιν καταβὰς ἐνέτυχε πλείστοις. Cp. Foucart, *op. cit.* 91; Beloch 59.

(3) C. *I. L.* XII, 3232=D. 5082, with notes.

(4) Lüders, *op. cit.* 143; Minervini, *op. cit.* 75.

(5) Capasso-De Petra, *op. cit.* 9, 162 (38).

(6) Pighius, *Hercules prodicius* (1609) 329.

matter, gathering together the most characteristic divinities of the district but confusing the cult of one Siren at Neapolis with that of the three at Surrentum.

ATHENA.

The likeness of Athena appears upon several issues of silver coins going back as far as the middle of the fifth century B. C. Chronologically they seem to have been nearly contemporaneous with those coins which first show the head of the nymph, and betray the predominance won by the Athenians for a period in the affairs of the western Greeks. (1) On many didrachmas at the end of the fifth century and onward she appears wearing an Athenian helmet, — a style of coin that is generally considered by numismatists to express the influence of Thurii. (2) Though the form of the coin may well be attributed to this source, it is incorrect to assume with Beloch that the appearance of the goddess herself was due to outside influence. Rather was it caused by the presence of a cult of Athena in the town, which was introduced or strengthened by the arrival of settlers from Athens and close commercial relations. (3) Other coins, generally obols, show Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet, a type which numismatists attribute to Sicilian influence. (4)

No traces of an actual worship of the Athenian deity have been left, although the cult probably had some importance. On the other hand the worship of another Athena is attested by

(1) A. Sambon 207, 174; Correra, *Le più antiche monete di Napoli* in *Rend. Nap.* XVI (1902) 98; Dressel, *Beschr, der antiken Münzen III*, part. I, 104.

(2) A. Sambon 208 f. and. *La cronologia delle monete di Neapolis* in *Riv. ital. di numis.* XV (1902) 123; Poole, *Num. Chron.* III (1883), 274.

(3) Beloch 50, but cp. *Gr. Gesch* II, 202; Pais, *Ancient Italy* 218 and *Ricerche stor. e geog.* 277; A. Sambon, *Riv. it. di num.* XV (1902) 122 (2). It is worth while to note the character of the Athena of Thurii. According to F. Lenormant, La *grande Grèce* II, 338 and *Gazette arch.* VI (1880) 185-6, who is followed by Head 87, the Thurian coins represent Athema Skyletria, a sea divinity honored at certaim points on the coast of Bruttium and Iapygium. Cp. Lycoph. *Alex.* 853 and *Scholia*, and Höfer, *Skyletria*, Roscher, IV, 1023.

(4) A. Sambon I, 174, 215.

specific evidence. An inscription found in 1892 outside of the *Porta Capuana* preserves the name of a public priestess Domitia Calliste, and so we are justified in inferring the presence of a shrine. (1) The goddess is called Athena Siciliana, a token that the cult was not as old as the colony but was imported at some later period from Sicily where the goddess was held in high esteem especially at Syracuse, Agrigentum, Himera and Camarina. (2) Gabrici, calling attention to the relations known to have existed in the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. between Neapolis and the island, finds in them a means for the extension of the cult to the former. (3) With less probability Pais thinks that the Athenian cult came first from Sicily to Surrentum as a result of Syracusan commercial activity between the years 474-289 B. C. Later according to this opinion Neapolis obtained jurisdiction over the country around Surrentum, and then took over and maintained the worship of important deities established there, just as was the case when Rome made new conquests. (4) There is no definite evidence, however, for the propagation of any form of worship from Surrentum.

Although the evidence for this cult is scanty and it is not recorded in literature, it ought not with Correra to be considered as essentially a private cult, since there is a clear reference to a public priestess. (5) This woman in accordance with the nature of her office was installed in office by the action of the regular municipal senate. Although it is uncertain to what extent the priests of the community were considered as *publici* and by what distinction they were separated from the rest, it seems evident that the appearance of a public priest is

(1) *N. S.* 1892, 202; Δομιτία Καλλίστη Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερεία Σικελῆς ὑπὸ συ(γ)κλήτο(υ) δημοσία γενομένη. Cp. Colonna, *Scoperte di antichità in Napoli* 217; Pais, *Ancient Italy* 228 and *Ricerche stor. e geog.* 288. The monument is reproduced in *Ancient Italy* Pls. VII, VIII and *Ricerche stor. e geog.* 276.

(2) Holm, *Gesch. Siciliens* I, 178; Ciaceri, *Culti e miti nella storia dell'antica Sicilia* 153 f.

(3) Gabrici, *Rend. Nap.* X (1896) 31.

(4) Pais, *Arch. stor. Nap.* XXV (1900) 353, *Ancient Italy* 220 and *Ricerche stor. e geog.* 280.

(5) Correra, *L'iscrizione napoletana di Domizia Callista* in *Arch. Stor. Sic.* XVIII (1893) 612.

an indication of the importance of the cult with which he is associated. (1) As to the exact action of the decurions, which is recorded here, opinions differ on account of the confused and concise language of the inscription. Pais thinks it refers simply to the selection of a public priestess; Gabrici less probably holds that Domitia Calliste was already serving the goddess and by the present action was promoted to a new dignity as *sacerdos publica*. (2) The latter dates the inscription in the beginning of the first century A. D. (3).

APHRODITE.

Aphrodite, worshipped under the designation Euploea, was thought to be a goddess whose special field was the sea; she protected the shipping, and her influence was salutary in calming winds and waves. (4) Her power for good in this direction is expressed twice in the poetry of Statius, where she is called *omen felix carinis*. The same poet in one of these passages, while enumerating in regular order the details of landscape visible from Surrentum includes a locality called *Euploea* between his references to the islands Nesis (Nisida) and Megalia (Castel dell'Ovo); (5) and from this account attempts have been made to find a location for a shrine. It is not explicitly stated that the point of land here called Euploea took its name from a temple of this goddess, but such a state of affairs is probable, as the proper site would be an eminence overlooking the sea. Mommsen, who is followed by Hülsen, identified the Euploea of Statius with the cliffs of Posilipo: (6) but Beloch and Cocchia, whose views are more generally ac-

(1) Herbst, *De sacerdotiis Romanorum municipalibus* 14. Cp. the appearance of the Ceres cult in Campania with public priestesses and that of Venus at Pompeii; also *E. E.* IV, 89; *C. I. L.* VIII, 993.

(2) Pais, *Arch. Stor. Nap.* XXV (1900) 348, *Ancient Italy* 227 and. *Ricerche* 288; Gabrici, *Rend. Nap.* X (1896) 36.

(3) Gabrici, *op. cit.* 32.

(4) The chief shrines of Eupolea are listed by Preller-Robert 364 and Jessen, *Euploia*, P.-W. VI, 1225. Cp. Roscher, *Aphrodite*, Roscher I, 402.

(5) Stat. *sil.* II, 2, 29; III, 1, 149.

(6) Mommsen, *Inschrift des Pollius Felix in Hermes* XVIII (1883) 158; Hülsen, *Euploia*, P.-W. VI, 1226; Trede, *Das Heidentum in d. röm. Kirche* I, 9.

cepted, believe that the sanctuary stood on the heights of Pizzofalcone. The latter indeed has shown that Statius has enumerated in strict geographical sequence the various points from Monte Gauro to Naples. (1) Furthermore, this spot retained a reminiscence of the cult during the Middle Ages in the name Euple. (2) Kaibel saw in a Greek inscription an allusion to a series of quinquennial games that were celebrated originally in honor of Aphrodite and later were diverted to serve the glory of Augustus. (3) The inscription is in honor of a certain Seleucus who held various offices in the city and lastly is described as ἄρχοντα τὸν διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν τιμητικόν. The phrase was understood by Kaibel as a reference to an *agon* presided over by this man, but is better taken in the sense of an ordinary quinquennial magistracy with censorial powers. (4) The only merit of Kaibel's view is that it proposes to explain the mention of Aphrodite, which otherwise has not been satisfactorily disposed of. (5).

LEUCOTHEA.

Another goddess of the sea, similar to Aphrodite Euploea, was Leucothea, a nymph whose cult was widely diffused in the Greek world not only in Greece itself but also in the West especially at Massilia, Velia, and Pyrgi. (6) Farnell calls attention to the fact that she was closely related to Aphrodite Euploea

(1) Cocchia, *La tomba di Virgilio* in *Saggi Filologici* III, 169; Mau, *Pompeji* (2) 121; Capasso-De Petra, XXIII; Beloch 83; cp. 466; De Petra, *Le Sirene del mar tirreno* in *Atti Nap.* XΛV (1908) 17.

(2) Beloch *loc. cit.*

(3) *I. G.* XIV, 745=C. *I. G.* 5796=Vaglieri 1741. Cp. *I. G.* XIV, 741.

(4) Discussion by Civitelli, *I nuovi frammenti d'epigrafi greche relative ai Ludi Augustali di Napoli* in *Atti Nap.* XVII (1894) art 2, No. 3, 60; a summary of the above article is found in *Rend. Nap.* VII (1893) 78 f. Kaibel, *I. G.* XIV, p. 191; Wissowa, *Wochens. für class. phil.* XIV (1897) 769.

(5) Franz, C. *I. G.* III, No. 5796 and add. p. 1255, following Martorelli adopted the supplement ἱερέα ; Keil, going still farther in the reconstruction of the text, conjectured εὔπλοια instead of εὔνοια. He is followed by Jessen, *Euploia,* P.-W. VI, 1226.

(6) Höfer, *Leucothea,* Roscher II, 2014; Pais, *Il culto di Atene Siciliana* in *Arch. stor. Sic.* XXV (1900) 353=*Ancient Italy* 231=*Ricerche stor. e geog.* 292; Correra, *Sul culto di Leucothea in Napoli* in *Studi e mat.* I (1899) 73.

and that ordinarily both divinities, as happened here at Neapolis, were revered in the same communities. (1) As distinguished from the Sirens, she represented properly the beneficent effects of the sea, and perhaps stood in somewhat the same relation to Parthenope, as Athena to the Sirens at Surrentum, although she was inferior to that goddess in fame. (2) From her one of the small islands near Capri received its name; but in spite of the fact that this is cited three times by the Latin authors nothing is known of the nature of the place or the reason why it received such a name, since it always occurs in a geographical enumeration without comment. (3)

The cult at Neapolis was probably derived from Velia, the most important center in southwestern Italy. It is definitely attested only by an inscription discovered in a sepulchral chamber excavated in 1895. Among a number of simple epitaphs written upon the walls was one alluding to Aristagore, who had served as a priestess of Leucothea. (4) To the same cult may belong a statue in the National Museum at Naples, which was discovered in the remains of the Roman villa of Lucullus in the district of Posilipo (Marechiano). Originally it stood in a niche which may have served as a little shrine. The image, which comprises a female figure riding a seahorse, was first identified as Venus Euploea or as a Nereid, but more recently by Correra as Leucothea. (5) The same combination is depicted upon a gem in the British Museum, which was considered by King as a representation of Venus Euploea and is listed in the Museum Catalogue as Thetis or a Nereid. (6)

(1) Farnell II, 637.

(2) Pais *loc. cit.* For a recent theory of the nature of this deity see Farnell, *Ino-Leukothea* in *Jour. Hell. Stud.* XXXVI (1916) 36 f.

(3) Plin. *nat.* III, 83; Mela II, 121; Mart. Cap. VI, 644.

(4) Gallanti, *Il sepolcreto greco sotto il palazzo di Donato* in *Atti Nap.* XVII (1895) part. 1, No. 3, 11; De Petra, *Mon. ant.* VIII, 228; See *Atti Nap.* Pl. III; Correra, *op. cit.* 75.

(5) Nat. Mus. No. 6026; Reinach, *Rép. stat. grec. et rom.* II 411, No. 1; Avellino, *Memor. della r. Accad. ercol.* V, 248. Incorrectly restored according to Correra, *op. cit.* 77.

(6) King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems* (2) 230; *Brit. Mus. Cat.* F548; Imhoof-Blumer und Keller, *Tier und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* Pl. XXVI, 24. Cp. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen* II, note to Pl. XIII, 43

The identity of the statue can not, therefore, be definitely determined.

The myth of this goddess is among those described by Philostratus as portrayed upon a Neapolitan portico. (1)

ARTEMIS.

The part played by Artemis in the worship of one of the phratries has already been explained. (2) In addition to the special devotion accorded her by this section of the population, she was recognized as a divinity by the city as a whole. Her likeness appears on a series of bronze coins dated in the first half of the third century B. C. Since the reverse of these coins and not those bearing the likeness of any other deity shows constantly the figure of a horn of plenty, von Duhn suspects that she was looked upon as a Tyche divinity. (3) The shrine mentioned in a Greek inscription discussed under the gods of the phratries was not a public temple as assumed by Mollardo. (4) A temple probably existed, but in that case must have been erected long before the second century A. D. to which the inscription in question belongs. Capasso assigned to Artemis a dedication made by an archon C. Andronicus and his wife in which the name of the god who received the gift is not specified. But his supposition rests only on the circumstance that the stone was found in a neighborhood where local antiquarians had erroneously located a shrine of this goddess. (5) In fact their identification of the temple site with the church of S. Maria Maggiore has very little evidence to support it.

Imhoof-Blumer and Keller suggest Leucothea, a Nereid or Thetis as the solution. Cp. Douglas, *Some Antiquarian Notes* 258 (1).

(1) Philostratus, *Imagines* 76.

(2) See p. 170.

(3) Von Duhn, *Der Dioskurentempel in Neapel* 14; A. Sambon 191, 277, Nos. 742-751; Head 40; Garrucci 86; Poole, *Cat. Gr. Coins in the Brit. Mus. Italy* 118.

(4) Mallardo, *Memorie Nap.* II (1913) 166; Maiuri, *Studi romani* I (1913) 29.

(5) Capasso-De Petra, *Napoli greco-romano* 93, 198 (279); Maiuri, *op. cit.* 28; *N. S.* 1896, 103: Trede, *Das Heidentum in d. röm. Kirche* 1, 9; II, 312.

RIVER GODS, SEBETHUS AND ACHELOOS.

Peculiar to the Neapolitans was the worship of the god of their local river the Sebethus or Sepethus. This is an illustration of a common feeling about the sanctity of rivers, which was manifested not only elsewhere in Campania as in the case of the Volturnus and the Sarnus but also generally throughout Italy, where the Numicus, the Clitumnus, and the Po exemplify the same sentiment. (1) A rare type of obols, dated in the fourth century B. C., exhibits on the obverse the head of a young river god marked with the legend Σήπεθος, and on the reverse a winged female figure variously explained as Nice, Parthenope, or a nymph Sebethis, whom tradition made the mother of Oebalus, an early king of this region. (2) This river god's shrine stood at some point in the city, as an inscription records a restoration by P. Meuius Eutychus. (3)

While Sebethus is regularly represented as a young man with horned forehead, it is probable that another river god Achelous is alluded to in the figures of the man headed bull which are found upon so many issues of Neapolitan coins. Some numismatists have attempted to explain this design as a likeness of Dionysus Hebon, and a prolonged controversy has raged on this subject. (4) But, although the bull was often associated with this god, it is not certain that he was himself portrayed in the form of that animal with the addition of a man's head. (5) Likewise it is impossible to prove definitely

(1) For the prevalence of a river god on coins see Head, index p. 955. Cp. Waser *Flussgötter*, P.-W. 2774; Mirone, *Les divin. fluv. rep. sur les mon. ant. de la Sicile* in *Rev. Num.* XI, (1917-18) I f.

(2) Verg. *Aen.* VII, 734 and Serv.; Höfer, *Sebeithos* and *Sebethis*, Roscher IV, 579-580; A. Sambon 181, 218, No. 422; Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. V (1857) 182, VI (1858) 57; Garrucci, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. I (1852) 17; L. Sambon, 141; Quaranta, *Mem. della r. accad. ercol.* VI (1853) 383 f.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1480=D. 3901: P. Meuius Eutychus aediculam rest. Sebetho.

(4) P. Gardner, *The Types of Greek Coins* 88; L. Sambon 151; Eckhel, *Doct, num. vet.* I, 138; Panofka, *Musée Blacas* 94.

(5) Farnell V, 251; Thrämer, *Dionysus*, Roscher I, 1150; A. W. Curtius, *Der Stier des Dionysos* 23 f.; Garrucci 83; A. Sambon 181, who gives a list of authorities.

that this is Achelous; but the figure of the human faced bull in other instances as at Laus in Lucania and at Selinus, Gela, and Catana in Sicily almost certainly signifies a river god, and unless some local deity is represented on the coins of Neapolis the design must refer to Achelous, the only one of the many in river cults which obtained a more than local distinction. (1) Again, the people of Neapolis would have an interest in this cult because according to the most common version of the legend this divinity was the father of Parthenope and the other Sirens. (2) In some of these coins the influence of Acarnania has been seen, where an *agon* was held in his honor; if the Neapolitan coins, as is probable, were issued on the occasion of athletic contests, there would be a tendency to repeat the same design with Achelous. (3) Some authorities as A. Sambon and Head, while granting that the basic notion underlying the design is that of Achelous, believe that the conception of the river god tended more and more to be assimilated to that of Dionysus until by the end of the fourth century B. C., the latter predominated. (4) The question is incapable of proof.

MINOR CULTS.

Evidence for the worship of Hera is wanting. A series of coins bearing her likeness surrounded by rays has been assigned doubtfully to this city, but if this money is really a product of the Neapolitan mint, Hera's appearance upon it can be accounted for by assuming the influence of the coinage of Croton, where a strong cult of Hera Lacinia flourished. (5)

(1) A list of the localities that have furnished examples of this type is given by Lehnerdt, *Herakles und Acheloos* in *Arch. Zeit.* XLIII (1885) 111 (10). For the prominence of Achelous see Stoll, *Acheloos*, Roscher I, 7; Wentzel, *Acheloos*, P.-W. I, 214. Cp. Macdonald, *Coin Types* 92, who minimizes the religious significance of such emblems, and P. Gardner, *Greek River Worship* in *Trans. of the Royal Society of Literature* ser. 2, XI, 203.

(2) Stoll *loc. cit.*; Weicker, *Seirenen*, Roscher IV, 604; *Schol. Od.* XII, 39.

(3) A. Sambon 181; Macdonald 100; Imhool-Blumer, *Die Münzen Akarnaniens* in *Numis. Zeits.* X (1878) 14 f.

(4) A. Sambon 181; Head 39.

(5) Poole, *op. cit.* 94; Farnell I, 212; Gruppe 370 (3).

Maiuri compares the form of the design with that on coins of Calchis, and associates the goddess here and at Cumae. (1)

A sculptured relief, which is the only evidence for a possible worship of Hephaestus, has been treated elsewhere. (2) Hermes along with Pluto is named in an inscription, but this belongs to mythology rather than to religion. (3). On the mere finding of a stone upon which was carved a *caduceus*, certain writers would locate a temple of this god on the site of the church of the SS. Apostoli, but it is unnecessary to discuss such an identification. Capasso's attempts to find the location of temples of Aesculapius and the Fates rest upon a similar lack of evidence. (4) Nor is there any adequate testimony at hand for supposing that the hero Orion received recognition. Near the harbor was found a marble slab bearing the likeness of a nude male figure with dripping curly hair and a drawn sword, which was identified as Orion on the ground that the hair and sword were symbolical respectively of rain and storm. (5) But it is not clear that Orion was regularly represented in this way and that the type was not applicable to other deities, so that the identification may be doubted. At the same time there is nothing improbable in the idea that Orion received suitable recognition in this community. He was well known in Euboea, and had a real cult in Boeotia especially at Tanagra; from the former he was introduced into Messana and Rhegium, and may have been brought to the Chalcidian colonies in Campania. (6) A temple of Victoria was assigned to Neapolis by Baudrillart, but there is no evidence for its existence. (7)

A passage in Lycophron alluding to the wanderings of Odysseus states that he would set up on Mt. Lethaeum a column in honor of Pluto and Proserpina and would affix to it

(1) Maiuri, *Arcana cumana* in *Ausonia* VI (1911) 9.

(2) See p. 172.

(3) *I. G.* XIV. 769.

(4) Caracciolo, *De sacris Neapol. eccl. monumentis* 293; Corcia, *Storia d. due Sicilie* II 225; Capasso-De Petra, *Napoli greco-romana* 57, 91.

(5) Capasso-De Petra, *op. cit.* 98; Franz, *C. I. G.* III, p. 716.

(6) Paus. IX, 20, 3; Capaccio, *Historia Neapolitana* I, 198, Gruppe 73; Küentzle, *Orion*, Roscher III, 1031, 1036.

(7) Baudrillart, *Les divinités de la Victoire en Grèce et en Italie* 87.

his helmet. No such place in Campania is known, but if there is an actual reference to a definite spot where these gods were honored, the steep mount may possibly refer to Posilipo, — a name whose significance (Pausilypos) is suggested by the word *Lethaeum* adopted by Lycophron. (1) One of the months in the Neapolitan calender bore the name Pantheon (Πανθεών), which calls to mind the month Πάνθειος in Pergamum. (2) On this account some scholars have assumed a cult of the Pantes Theoi at Neapolis or the presence of a Pantheon. The notion advocated by Ignarra in the eighteenth century that such a temple was founded by Hadrian and stood on the site of S. Giovanni Maggiore has already been examined and set aside as untenable. (3) Franz thought that a festival was celebrated in honor of all the gods collectively, but if so, nothing is known about it. (4) Finally two short dedications may be mentioned here; one is in honor of Nemesis, the other, made by a slave, is a tribute to Silvanus. (5) They were discovered on Mt. Vesuvius in territory belonging to Herculaneum during the existence of that city. They are assigned by Mommsen, however, to the second century A. D. and hence are too late in point of time to have belonged to Herculaneum.

ROMAN CULTS.

Officials belonging to the state religion of the Roman colony apart from the Imperial cult are seldom mentioned. One inscription has preserved the name of C. Octauius Verus, who held the position of augur and is called in addition a *flamen Virbialis* and *aedilis Augustalis*. (6) Both of these offices

(1) Lycophron *Alex.* 701-711; Von Holzinger's edition, comment on this passage; Gruppe 403 (5).

(2) *I. G.* XIV, 759, l. 16. Cp. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, (2), No. 592=Michel, *Recueil*, No. 519; Höfer, *Pantheion*, Roscher III, 1555.

(3) Ignarra, *De Phratriis* 145. See p. 193.

(4) Franz, *C. I. G.* III, p. 717, 720.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 1408=Vaglieri 1167; Nemesi sanct(ae) sacr. Q. Pont(ius) Euschemus u. s. l. m.; X, 1409=Vaglieri 1191: Communis C. Petroni Saltuarius uotum Siluano soluit libes merito. Von Domaszewski, *Silvanus auf lateinischen Inschriften in Philologus* LXI (1902) 11=*Abhandlungen* 69.

(6) *C. I. L.* X, 1493=D. 6457.

seem to have been religious in their nature, but no information about them is at hand. The former recalls the worship of Virbius near Aricia in Latium, where this god, identified with the Greek Hippolytus, was associated with the powerful cult of Diana. The priest of Neapolis may be a copy of a Roman flamen created at a comparatively late date, or he may represent some old Greek priesthood that was transformed by the arrival of new influences., (1)

FORTUNA.

The most trustworthy evidence for the cult of Fortuna appears in a Greek inscription, in which she is designated as Tyche. Here there is recorded a thank offering made by M. Marius Epictetus to the city's Tyche, considered apparently in the same way as the Genius that so often appears to express the protecting spirit of a given locality. (2) In other words we have here a Roman rather than a Greek cult. It is true that during the Alexandrian period it became common for Greek cities in the East to develop local cults of Tyche and to depict the goddess in statuary and upon coins. (3) But a place like Neapolis would not share in this development; it would be exposed rather to the influence of the Roman ideas about Genius and Fortuna, and would develop the conception of a deity associated closely with the community. We may infer that at first this idea was embodied in the Siren Parthenope; as her power in the community waned, the other conception became stronger and attained a full growth under the Empire. (4)

(1) Mommsen *C. I. L.* X, p. 172; de Ruggiero, *Aedilis* Ruggiero I, 271; Samter, *Flamines*, P.-W. VI, 2492; Julian, *Flamen*, D.-S. II, 1173; Paris, *Diana*, D.-S. II, 154; Birt, *Diana* Roscher I, 1008; Herbst, *De sacerdotiis Roman. municipalibus* 15; Wissowa, 249 (2); Fraser, *The Magic Art.* (3) 19-21.

(2) *I. G.* XIV, 720=*C. I. G.* 5792=Vaglieri 1078: Μ. Μάριος Ἐπίκτητος τῇ τύχῃ Νέας πόλεως ἀνέθηκεν χαριστήριον. Maiuri, apparently following Capasso-De Petra, *op. cit.* 196 (270) erroneously calls the inscription bilingual. Maiuri, *N. S.* 1913, 187.

(3) P. Gardner, *Countries and Cities in Ancient Art* in *Jour. Hell. Stud.* IX (1888) 73 f.; L. Deubner, *Personifikationen*, Roscher II, 2076; Hild, *Fortuna*, D.-S. II, 1265.

(4) Cp. Allègre, *Étude sur la déesse jgrecque Tyché* 185.

A statue accidentally discovered at Naples, although badly disfigured retains enough characteristics to seem a representation of Fortuna. It was doubtless not a cult statue but designed for ornamental purposes. As it came to light close to the remains of the circular temple attributed to the god Eumelus, Maiuri conjectures that it was set up on the property belonging to the phratry of the Eumeleidai and was a dedication made by a member of that organization. (1)

Tradition has associated a shrine of Fortuna with the district of the Capo di Posilipo, which embraces the heights between Naples and Pozzuoli.Here accordig to one account was discovered the inscription recording the liberality of T. Vestorius Zelotus, who was doubtless a citizien of Puteoli. (2) The record shows that after the temple had been handed over complete by the builders, this man at his own cost provided an image of Pantheus. (3) The cult of Fortuna Panthea is another evidence of the syncretistic tendency to blend together various divinities rather than to single out and emphasize one of them; it came to be felt especially that Fortuna the promoter of good luck, united in her person the powers of many others. Hence in the image of Vestorius Zelotus the attempt would be made to include in the figure the physical characteristics of as many deities as possible. (4) It was after all a safe and economical way of showing respect to the whole company of gods. In Italy, although Fortuna Panthea was often portrayed by various forms of art, she is cited in the extant epigraphical material only at Aletrium and Rome. (5)

(1) Maiuri, *N. S.* 1913, 187.

(2) Dubois, 51-52.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1557=Vaglieri 1182: T. Vestorius Zelotus post adsignationem aedis Fortunae signum Pantheum sua pecunia d. d. Cp. X, 3092. The provenience of the inscription has been variously given. It is usually assigned to Puteoli, as by Mommsen, Dubois, and Beloch, because of the fact that the name Vestorius seems to belong there. But the place of the cult seems more likely to have been that indicated above.

(4) R. Peter, *Fortuna,* Roscher I, 1534 f.; Drexler, *Isis-Fortuna* and *Fortuna-Panthea,* Roscher I, 1549 f.; Hild, *Fortuna,* D.-S. II, 1273; Wissowa 264; Allègre, *op. cit.* 234.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 5800, VI 30, 867. Cp. Breccia, *Fortuna,* Ruggiero III, 190; Otto, *Fortuna,* P.-W. VII, 40.

Local topographers agree that the shrine stood in the vicinity of Posilipo but differ as to its exact site. One opinion has identified it with a few remains of brick work and columns in the little coast village of Marechiano. According to other antiquarians, however, its location is to be sought either farther east, where a church once existing bore the name of S. Maria Fortuna (or S. Pietro), or else at S. Agnello. (1).

THE IMPERIAL CULT.

The worship of Augustus and his family was carried on as usual by the Augustales, but the *collegium* has left only scanty traces of its activity. One of the members is known, - the merchant M. Antonius Trophimus, who filled the same position at Puteoli. The *aedilis Augustalis*. whose duties are unknown, has been treated above. (2)

The Emperor Augustus was chiefly honored by the celebration of quinquennial games, which attained a great renown and attracted the most famous athletes of the time to the competitions. (3) Officially they were called *Italica Romaea Sebasta;* thus, though they were Greek contests in substance they received a Latin name. Noteworthy is the fact that the Neapolitans were not content to give their games a modest title of local significance derived from their own city, but instead they included in their appellation allusions to all Italy, to Rome, and to the Emperor and endeavored to flatter all alike. (4) It was declared that they were on a par with the most famous contests of Greece, and Strabo relates that they

(1) The various opinions are discussed by Günther, *Pausilypon* 182. Cp. Capasso-De Petra, *Napoli greco-romana* 96 (270); Beloch 85; Corcia, *Storia d. due Sicilie* II, 195.

(2) See pp. 124, 206.

(3) Ricci, *Athleta,* Ruggiero, I, 749; F. Richter, *Roma,* Roscher IV, 139; Beloch 57; Capasso-De Petra 38. Civitelli, *Atti Nap.* XVII (1894) part III; Dittenberger und Purgold, *Inschriften von Olympia* p. 123; Lasena, *Dell'antico ginnasio napoletano,* 25 f.; Ignarra, *De palaestra neapolitana* 139 f.; Wissowa, *Wochens, für Klass. Phil.* XIV (1897) 763 f.; Mie, *Quaestiones agonisticae imprimis ad Olympiam pertinentes* 43 f.

(4) Civitelli, *I nuovi frammenti d'epigrafe greche relative ai Ludi Augustali di Napoli* in *Atti Nap.* XVII (1893-4) part. II, No. 55 (3).

actually rivalled them. (1) Until the institution of the Ludi Capitolini by Domitian they were unsurpassed in Italy, and exercised an important influence upon all games instituted later. (2) They included gymnastic, literary, musical, and equestrian events, and were celebrated in midsummer the third year of each Olympiad beginning with the year 2 B. C., - a date known from the statements of Dio Cassius and from the fact that the forty-fifth series was held in 170 A. D. (3) Another notice of the games, which was discovered in the excavations at Olympia, has been assigned to a period about a century earlier than the last named date. (4)

Considerable uncertainty is attached to the institution of the games. Dio Cassius states that the ostensible reason for their introduction was a desire on the part of the people of Neapolis to show their appreciation of the generosity of Augustus, manifested in restoring damage caused by fire and earthquake; but in reality, he declares, they were influenced by their great interest in Greek institutions. (5) It is not altogether clear that these contests were entirely new. It is possible that they were remodelled out of games celebrated in the past like those at Actium and the *ludi Veneris Genetricis* at Rome, which underwent a transformation in honor of the Emperor. The theory that they were derived from a contest in honor of Venus was advocated by Kaibel, but as already explained, there is no generally accepted evidence for this series of games. (6) Beloch associated them with the gymnastic contests in honor of the Siren, which originated at a remote period, but the latter were still performed during the early years of the Empire as a separate festival which was doubtless of modest pre-

(1) Strab. V, 4, 7; Mie, *op. cit.* 48.

(2) Stat. *sil.* III, 5, 92: Et Capitolinis quinquennia proxima lustris. Cp. Wissowa 465.

(3) *I. G.* XIV, 748=*C. I. G.* 5805. Cp. *I. G.* XIV, 754, 755 and Civitelli *loc. cit.* Heinen, *Klio* XI (1911) 170; Dittenberger und Purgold *loc. cit.*; Richter, Roscher IV, 139; Franz, *C. I. G.* III, p. 732; Gardtausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* part II 326 (46).

(4) Dittenberger und Purgold, *op. cit.* No. 56.; Wissowa 765.

(5) Dio Cassius LV, 10, 9.

(6) See p. 200.

tensions. (1) There seems, however, to be some ground for believing that a new festival was attached to one previously existing. Beurlier considers that the original contests were grouped under the term *Romaea Italica* to which Sebasta was added in the time of Augustus. (2) But Dittenberger somewhat more probably holds that the earlier games bore the title *Italica Olympia* and that the other two words belonged to the new series. In the extant inscription from Olympia he finds that the events recorded clearly fall under two separate heads corresponding to the two parts of the revised festival. (3)

The Emperors are frequently reported as attending the sacred games. Augustus witnessed the contests of 14 A. D. just before proceeding to Nola where he died. (4) Claudius presided at the series held in 42 A. D., making himself conspicuous by the simplicity of his manners and apparel and competing himself with success in the literary section. (5) To this time probably belongs the institution of a body of youths called the παῖδες κλαυδιανοί in an inscription from Caria, which records a pancratium performed at Neapolis. (6) The contests at which Nero participated in the year 68 may have been the regular quinquennial games, which in this case were anticipated by two years to accomodate the impatience of the royal performer. (7) Titus served as *agonothetes* no less than three times probably in the years 70, 74, and 78. (8) How long the festival continued to be celebrated is uncertain. Civitelli, re-

(1) Strab. V. 4, 7: Καὶ ἀγὼν συντελεῖται γυναικὸς κατὰ μαντείαν; Beloch 58.

(2) Beurlier, *Le culte impérial* 161 (6).

(3) Dittenberger und Purgold, *op, cit.* p. 123.

(4) Dio Cassius LVI, 29 2: Ἐξωρμήθη τε ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν ὁ Αὔγουστος καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Νέᾳ πόλει διαθεὶς ἔπειτα ἐν Νώλῃ μετήλλαξε. Suet. *Aug.* 98, 5: Mox Neapolim traiecit, quamquam etiam tum infirmis intestinis morbo uariante, tamen et quinquennale certamen Gymnicum honori suo institutum perspectavit. Vell. II. 123. Quippe Caesar Augustus... interfuturus athletarum certaminis ludicro, quod eius honori sacratum a Neapolitan's est, processit in Campaniam. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* I, 1267.

(5) Dio Cassius LX, 6, 1; Suet. *Claud.* XI, 2.

(6) *C. I. G.* 2810b.

(7) Suet. *Nero* 20. Cp. Franz, *C. I. G.* III, p. 732.

(8) *I. G.* XIV, 729=*C. I. G.* 5809=*C. I. L.* X, 1481. Bloch 58; Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, 1481.

futing a statement of Beloch, that it could not be attested later than 182 A. D., cites evidence for its presence as late as 210, the close of the reign of Septimius Severus. (1)

Nor is there any indication that it ceased to be performed soon after this period. The Philostratus who composed the *Imagines* speaks of an *agon* here at the beginning of his book, - an apparent indication that games survived at Neapolis at least into the third century. Two other passages cited by Civitelli to prove the continuance of the games here are not conclusive, yet add a certain amount of probability to the supposition that they had a long life. (2)

One point still remains to be considered, - the relation between this festival and the *Eusebeia*, which are occasionally cited as a sacred contest at Neapolis. Couve considers that the latter was a new series of games instituted by Antonius Pius. (3) Beurlier states that the *Sebasta* after the time of Antoninus were called *Eusebeia*, probably as the result of an official order on the part of that monarch to extend honor to the memory of his predecessor. If such an action was taken, it would suit the beginning of his reign, and would be in line with his establishment of the *Eusebeia* at Puteoli. Yet we find that as late as the year 182 there is a mention of the *Sebasta* at Neapolis parallel with the *Eusebeia* at Puteoli, a circumstance which makes it certain that the name of the contest was not officially altered. (4) It may sometimes have been called by the name *Eusebeia* as a result of the influence of the games of Puteoli; yet the only definite reference to the *Eusebeia* at Neapolis, which occurs in the copy of an inscription no longer

(1) *I. G.* XIV, 1102=C. *I. G.* 5913. Here are recorded the victories of M. Aurelius Asclepiades. Beloch *loc. cit.*; Civitelli, *Atti Nap.* (1893-4) 74; *I. G.* III, 129. A table of the contests is given by Franz, *C. I. G.* III, p. 732 f. The older scholars as Mazzocchi and Ignarra maintained that the games ceased when the place received a Roman colony, - a position which the extant evidence renders wholly untenable. Civitelli *loc. cit.*; De Petra, *Napoli colonia romana* in *Atti Nap.* XVI (1891-2) 56 f.; Ignarra, *De Palaestra Neapolitana* 146.

(2) Civitelli, *loc cit.*; Philostratus, *Imagines* 763; Aug., c. *Acad.* III, 16, 35; *Codex Iustinianus* X, 54 (de athletis).

(3) Couve, *Hadrianeia*, D.-S. III, 2.

(4) *I. G.* XIV, 1102=C. *I. G.* 5913.

extant, may be the result of an error of transcription. (1) The instance cited by Beurlier to prove that the games were also called *Actia* refers not to this city but to Nicopolis. (2)

There is no doubt that Augustus was worshipped in a shrine consecrated to himself. In the agonistic fragments from Olympia occurs the mention of a Caesareum to which a procession made its way to offer a sacrifice to the Emperor. This seems to be a reference to his temple. (3) Its site can not be determined on account of a lack of evidence. Fabio Giordano thought that it stood near the ancient Forum, where the church of S. Gregorio is now located. Capaso would associate it with S. Gennaro all'Olmo in the same district, and goes so far as to give a description of the structure. (4) All this, however, is quite uncertain.

The cult of the Emperors was carried on also in the phratries, as is attested by the fragment of an inscription recording the θεοὶ σεβαστοί along with the deities of the phratry. (5) Avellino, followed by Capasso, assigned the inscription to the age of Domitian and identifies the gods as the deified Vespasian and Titus. (6) But Franz thought rather that there was an allusion to a living Emperor and Empress; in reality the term seems to have included the reigning Emperor and those of his predecessors who were deified. (7) In another case a certain individual. who wished to thank the phratry gods for his safe return to his home, set up in their honor an image of

(1) The term *Eusebeia* occurs in *I. G.* III, 128=*C. I. G.* 247 as Εὐ]σε[β]εια, where Mommsen would read Σεβαστά *C. I. L.* X, p. 171. It may also be understood in *C. I. G.* 1720 (from Delphi) but is not actually in the text.

(2) Beurlier, *Le culte impérial* 162; Waddington, *Inscriptions recueillées en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* 1839. Cp. Reisch, *Aktia*, P.-W. I. 1214.

(3) Dittenberger und Purgold, *Inschr. v. Olympia*, No. 56, I, 48.

(4) Fabio Giordano, quoted in Capasso-De Petra, *Napoli greco-romana* 183 (208); *ibidem* 77; cp. 58.

(5) *I. G.* XIV, 723.

(6) Avellino, *Bull. Nap.* I (1843) 23; Capasso-De Petra, *op. cit.* 58.

(7) Dittenberger, *I. G.* III 664, 665; *Sylloge inscr. Graecarum* I (2), 363 (2); and *Hermes* XIII (1878) 72; Brandis, Ἀρχιερεύς, P.-W. II, 481; Kornemann, *Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte* in *Klio* I (1901) 106 (13); Geiger, *De sacerdotibus Augustorum municip.* 29.

the Emperor Claudius. (1) An inscription in honor of the Genius Caesarum was likewise found at Naples. (2)

ORIENTAL CULTS.

Neapolis offered a much less favorable field for the development of the Oriental cults than some other places in the vicinity. There was no great amount of commerce at the close of the Republic and throughout the Empire to bring into the city an influential foreign element, nor was there in the immediate neighborhood a military station. Furthermore, the people with their firmly rooted Greek civilization were less receptive toward those cults which had a well marked orgiastic tendency than the inhabitants of other towns who were not subject to the restraining influences of Greek conservatism. Though the extant evidence indicates that the most important Oriental religions had adherents in the community, they did not exercise so great an influence as in most other towns.

THE GODS OF EGYPT.

The worship of the Egyptian deities was carried on by people from that country who had a settlement here. They were in large part natives of Alexandria, some of whom were brought to the city by Nero, because he had taken a fancy to their race. In this case the Imperial favor was due to a new form of applause which the Egyptians employed to express their appreciation of the music rendered by the Emperor in his public performances. Aside from this incident the interest of Nero in the Alexandrians is well authenticated. (3) But in asserting that there was a great increase of these people in Nero's time Capasso exaggerates the words of Suetonius, who

(1) *I. G.* XIV, 728=*C. I. G.* 5802b.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1561: Genio Caesarum Diognetus uilic. fec. Colonna, *Scoperte di antichità* 221.

(3) Suet. *Nero*: Captus autem modulatis Alexandrinorum laudationibus, qui de nouo commeatu Neapolim confluxerant, plures Alexandria euocauit.

merely says that he brought others. (1) In fact it is not probable that the Alexandrian colony ever became very large. Yet it was distinctive enough to leave the impress of its name on that part of the city where they resided, - a name that survived in the Middle Ages in the form *Vico degli Alessandrini*, which was applied to the street called later *Mezzocannone*. Likewise one of the mediaeval divisions of the city was called the *regio Nili*. This circumstance would tend to prove that the Egyptians were located in the south-western part of Neapolis where they possessed a shrine consecrated to their national gods; Capasso would place it precisely at the beginning of the *Via dell'Università* opposite the statue of the river god Nilus cited below, where remains of tufa foundation walls were unearthed. (2) But these would point rather to a building belonging to an earlier epoch than the one in which the temple of the Egyptian gods was probably erected.

Doubtless in this quarter was discovered an inscription pertaining to the Egyptian gods, which consists of a dedication made by a prominent Roman official M. Oppius Nauius Phannianus, who had lived in the Orient. He presented to the shrine an image of Apollo-Horus-Harpocrates, a syncretistic combination of a Greek divinity with an Oriental one (3). Horus in the form Harpocrates, the only aspect of this god which appealed to the Greeks outside of Egypt, has become amalgamated with Apollo for the reason that each was a god of light. (4) There is no reason to interpret the inscription with Franz as a reference to three statues representing separately Apollo and

(1) Capasso-De Petra, *op. cit.* 6.

(2) Capasso-De Petra 6, 161 (24). Capasso states that the term *regio Nili* occurs as late as 1276 in *Notam. instrumentorum S. Gregorii* No. 433, *Arch. stor. Nap.* XVII (1892) 450 and *Pianta della città di Napoli nel secolo XI;* Trede, *Das Heidentum in d. röm. Kirche* II, 143.

(3) *I. G.* XIV, 719=*C. I. G.* 5793 and III, p. 1255=Vaglieri 1094. The inscription is assigned to Neapolis by Kaibel and Capasso; Beloch regards its origin as doubtful.

(4) Herodotus II, 144. Shrines of Harpocrates are cited at Delos, Chios and Ambracia. Ed. Meyer, *Horos*, Roscher I, 2747. The god is mentioned three times in Latin inscriptions: *C. I. L.* VI, 31 (Rome), V, 2796 (Patauium), IX, 4772 (Forum Nouum) In the first case he is united with Apollo, de Ruggiero, *Harpocrates*, Ruggiero, III, 644.

two Egyptian gods. (1) A statue of Isis was unearthed in the suburbs of Naples. (2)

The Alexandrians were interested also in the worship of the Nile as a patron of fertility who promoted the growth of the crops and the increase of animals and the human race. (3) An evidence of this sentiment is seen in a statue of the river god, which is still extant and stands today in the *Piazzetta del Nilo*. Naturally the decorative idea was strong here, as this type was of common use in sculpture. The monument is in the form of an old man in a reclining position with his left side leaning against a rough stone from which issues a stream of water. At his feet is a crocodile and around him gambol naked children. (4)

DOLICHENUS.

No definite evidence is found for this cult. A stone, however, which contained a complete Greek alphabet, followed by the phrase κελευσαν(τος) τοῦ θεοῦ has every indication of being the work of a follower of Dolichenus. (5) It is extremely like the Latin inscription from Carnuntum in Pannonia as was pointed out by Kubitschek. In both cases as well as in that of an inscription from Misenum already discussed there is an employment of the letters of the alphabet for magical purposes. (6) This supposition, which assigns a sacred character to the

(1) Franz, *C. I. G.* No. 5793; Meyer *loc. cit.* Cp. Cavedoni, *Bull. Inst.* 1852, 76-77.

(2) Lafaye, *Les divinités d'Alexandrie hors de l'Égypte* 278 cat. No. 51; Friederichs-Wolters, *Die Gipsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke* 615, No. 1550; von Sacken, *Die antiken Sculpturen in Wien* p. 25 and Pl. IX; Clarac, *Musée de sculpture* Pl. 991, No. 2577. Attributes of Isis were later conferred upon the Madonna. The cult of the Madonna as Healer is very prominent at Naples and its vicinity. Mary Hamilton, *Incubation* 182 f.

(3) Cp. Wagner, *Neilos*, Roscher III, 93.

(4) This statue has an interesting history, which is related by Capasso-De Petra, *op. cit.* 159 (22). It is portrayed in the same work Pl. 3. For the type see Wagner, *Neilos*, Roscher III, 95 f.

(5) *N. S.* 1894, 173.

(6) Kubitschek, *C. I. L.* III, Supp. p. 2281 note to No. 11186. Cp. Hülsen, *Klio*, XX (1902) 235 (1).

stone, seems much more plausible than the view published by Viola, that the inscription was of Christian origin and designed for scholastic purposes. The latter on epigraphical grounds assigns it to the period of the Empire not later than the first half of the third century. (1)

MITHRAS.

The cult of Mithras is associated in tradition with the Grotta di Posilipo on the ancient way between Neapolis and Puteoli. In the middle of the passage through the cliff is a Christian shrine, which is supposed to have been consecrated originally to the great solar deity. The association of Mithras with this spot is due to the discovery of a sculptured relief which exhibits the bull - slaying divinity accompanied by various symbols peculiar to his cult and by busts of Sol and Luna. (2) Both above and below the sculptures are the words of an inscription recording the fact that the dedication was due to a *uir clarissimus* Appius Claudius Tarronius Dexter. The god is designated as *omnipotens* and his name is preceded by the word *deus*, as is customary in dealing with a foreign divinity. (3) But it is worth noting that although certain writers, as recently Günther, connect the monument definitely with the *Grotta*, the most ancient versions of the discovery are not so precise, and assign it simply to the region of Posilipo. (4) A similar relief, the present whereabouts of which is unknown, may have come from the same locality. (5)

(1) Viola, *N. S.* 1894, 174.

(2) The relief is reproduced by Cumont, *Textes et monuments* II, 250 No. 93. Cp. Cumont, *Mithras*, Roscher II, 3069; Rüsch, *Guida del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* 181 No. 668; Beloch 85.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1479=Vaglieri 1166: Omnipotenti deo Mithrae Appius Claudius Tarronius Dexter u. c. dicat.

(4) Günther, *Pausilypon* 16; Cumont, *Textes et monuments* II, 485 No. 93; Stark, *Zwei Mithräen der Grossherzoglichen Altertümersammlung in Karlsruhe* in *Festgabe der* XXIV *Philologenversammlung* 36; Rüsch, *op. cit.* 181, No. 668.

(5) Cumont, *op. cit.* 250, No. 94. Cocchia identifies the shrine in the Grotta di Posilipo with that which Petronius records as sacred to Priapus. *Saggi filologici* III, 175 (3).

JUDAISM.

A large number of Jews evidently made their home at Neapolis, but no information is at hand about the origin of their community or its subsequent development. (1) In fact they are not mentioned until the very close of the ancient world. Cemeteries used by members of this race are known from literary references, and one which was discovered in 1908 has yielded epitaphs belonging to the fifth century A. D. (2) A seal probably belonging to this city contains a representation of the branched candlestick. (3) A small column in the form of a phallus showing the Greek word and an obscene Hebrew inscription was discovered in an underground room adjacent to the burial chambers of the Catacombs of S. Gennaro. This object, which gave rise to many theories about the original use of the room, is now considered as of late origin and in fact has been put in the fourteenth century. (4). The Jews also left their impress upon the nomenclature of the city giving rise to such topographical designations as *Terra dei Giudei* and *Vico degli Ebrei*. (5)

In the sixth century they had a monopoly of the food supply of the city; favored it would seem by the Goths, they were reluctant to become subjects of the Byzantine Emperors and gave a valiant futile support to the Neapolitans in resisting the

(1) Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums* II, 216; Grätz-Eppenstein, *Geschichte der Juden* V, 39; Ferorelli, *Gli ebrei nell'Italia meridionale* in *Arch. stor. Nap.* XXXII (1907) 244 f.

(2) Saba Malaspina, *Rerum Sicularum historia* (1250-1285) in Del Re, *Cronisti e scrittori sincroni napoletani* II, 284; Galante, *Un cemetero giudaico in Napoli* in *Memorie Nap.* II (1913) 235, 236 f. Pls. II, III.

(3) C. *I. L.* X, 8059 (484) (instrumenta domestica).

(4) Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana* II, p. 104, 105. Corcia, *Storia delle due Sicilie* II, 248; *I. G.* XIV, 65*; Galante, *op. cit.* 235 with bibliography; Ferorelli, *Gli ebrei nell'It. merid. dall'età romana* 23.

(5) G. Fusco, *Sulla topografia della città di Napoli nel medio evo* in *Rend. Nap.* 1863-1864, 273; Galante *op. cit.* 234; Aloe, *Arch. stor. Nap.* in *Atti del r. Inst. Veneto* LXIII (1903-04) 829; Capasso *Topografia della città di Napoli al tempo del Ducato* 39 and *Mon. Neapolitani ducatus* II, part 2, p. 163-4.

attempt of Belisarius to make himself master of the city. (1) At the close of the sixth century Gregory the Great in his letters to the Neapolitan bishops Fortunatus and Paschasius deals with the problems which the presence of this race created in the administration of the Church. (2)

CHRISTIANITY.

Legends which have no basis of truth, yet have not lacked supporters in modern times, represent the church at Neapolis as a foundation of St. Peter, and claim that St. Aspren was its first bishop. (3) Nothing in fact is known of this early period. Extensive catacombs, however, point to the presence of an important Christian community at least as early as the second century. (4) The largest, which is known as the Catacombs of S. Gennaro dei Poveri, has early ceiling decoration and later paintings beginning with the third century. (5) The earliest dated Christian inscription belongs to the year 377. (6) The list of bishops goes back to the beginning of the third century or possibly even to the end of the second, thus starting at a date prior to the persecution of Diocletian.

(1) The citizens determined to resist only after they had been assured by the Jews that there would be no lack of food. Procopius I, 8, 41; 10, 24; F. Heman, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes seit der Zerstörung Jerusalems* 74; Tamassia *op. cit.* 815; Grätz-Eppenstein *op. cit.* 43; Ferorelli, *op. cit.* 15.

(2) Gregory the Great, *Epist* VI, 33, IX 36, XIII, 12 (Migne); Ferorelli, *op. cit.* 8 f., 19, 21.

(3) *Acta Sancti Aspreni* in *Acta sanctorum* August I, p. 201 f.; *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina* I, 117; Capasso, *Mon. Neapolitani ducatus* I, 157 (1); Dubois 165; Trede, *Das Heidentum* in *d. röm. Kirche* II, 175; Scherillo, *Della venuta di S. Pietro apostolo nella città di Napoli* 10 f., 222 f.
Kunst 143.

(5) Kraus, *Real-Encyklopädie der christlichen Alterthümer* II, 132 and *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst* I, 56-57; von Sybel, *Christliche Antike*

(4) Harnack, *op. cit.* II, 216; Schultze, *Archäologie der Altchristlichen* I, 153; Galante, *Relazione sulle catacombe di S. Gennaro* in *Rend. Nap.* XIV (1900) 184; a list of this writer's works on the catacombs of Naples in *Memorie Nap.* II (1913) part I, 233 (1); Müller, *Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie* X, 858; Schultze *loc. cit.* and *Die Katakomben* 306. Bibliography in Leclercq, *Catacombes* in *Dictionnaire d'archeologie chrétienne* II, 2444.

(6) *C. I. L.* X, 1518.

So early a list is seldom found in Italy. (1) Naturally the church was able to adduce a goodly number of martyrs. The cult of St. Januarius and his companions who were martyred at Puteoli became very popular, and is attested by paintings in the Catacombs of S. Severo, assigned to the fourth and fifth centuries. (2) The flourishing state of the Christian church at the beginning of the fourth century is proved by the fact that Constantine erected a basilica here as at Capua; it has been identified by Sorrentino with the church of S. Restituta which is now an annex of the Cathedral. (3)

AENARIA (ISCHIA).

The island called Aenaria by the Romans and Pithecussae by the Greeks is associated with the first settlements of the latter people in Italy. Coming under the sway of the Neapolitans, it remained in their possession until their war with Rome, and after that event became a part of the Romans' public domain (326 B. C.). It was restored to Neapolis by Augustus in exchange for Capreae (29 B. C.) (4).

Aenaria probably participated in general in the cults maintained at Neapolis. Its specialty was the worship of Apollo and the Nymphs, who were revered in the southern part of the island at the warm springs of Nitroli (5). The goddesses who presided over this locality were called from the quality of the water *Nitrodes* or *Nitrodiae*, a word from

(1) *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* 402 f.; Lanzoni, *Le origini del cristianesimo nella Campania romana* in *Riv. storico-crit. delle scienze teol.* VI (1910) 115; Galante, *Bull. arch. crist.* 1883, 86.

(2) Galante, *Bull. arch. crist.* V (1867) 74; Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana* II, Pl. 105A; Scherillo, *Nella prima catacomba di S. Gennaro* in *Atti Nap. V* (1870-71) 170 f.; Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs* 342.

(3) *Liber Pontificalis*, Sylvester XXXII (Duchesne's edition I, 186); *Gesta episcoporum Neapolit.* in *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum* p. 404=Capasso, *Mon. Neapolitani ducatus* I, 165; Sorrentino, *La basalica costantiniana* in *Atti Nap.* XXV (1908) 241-2.

(4) Beloch 204; Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, 679; Hülsen, *Aenaria, P.-W.* I, 594 Pais, *Ancient Italy* 181 and *Ricerche stor. e geog.* 227.

(5) Strab. V. 49 (248); Plin, *nat.* XXXI, 9.; Pais, *Ancient Italy* 200 (1) and *Ricerche stor. e geog.* 251 (2); Preller-Jordan II, 145.

which the modern name of the place is derived, and along with Apollo received adoration as healing divinities (1). Their shrine was the recipient of many dedications presented by its patrons who had experienced some benefit from the kindly deities. A considerable number of inscriptions which accompanied the offerings left at the shrine have been recovered; one of them was made by Argenna, a freedwoman of the Empress Poppaea (2). In the reliefs that portray both Apollo and the Nymphs, the former is usually depicted holding a lyre (3). This subject and a representation of Cupids struggling for the prize of victory have led to the belief that musical and gymnastic contests were celebrated here, but there is no real evidence to support this opinion (4).

A Greek inscription alludes to a dedication to the invincible Mithras (5).

(1) The worship of the Nymphs was common in Campania especially along the coast where springs were abundant. Another important seat of their cult was on the shore of Lake Bracciano at Vicarello in the territory that belonged in ancient times to Etruria. Bloch, *Nymphen*, Roscher III, 545; Ihm, *Nitrodes*, Roscher III, 443.

(2) *I. G.* XIV, 892, 893; *C. I. L.* X, 6786-6799 and addenda 6794; D. 3873-3875; Vaglieri 1174-1180: In some cases the origin is doubtful. The reference to Argenna occurs in *C. I. L.* X, 6787.

(3) Gerhard-Panofka, *Neapels antike Bildwerke* Nos. 510, 546, 547; Rüsch, *Guida* 183 f.; Nos. 674, 676, 678, 682, 684, 687, 689, 694, 696, 698, 700; Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klass. Altertums* I, 499 No. 541.

(4) Preller-Jordan II, 145 (5).

(5) *I. G.* XIV, 891=Cumont, *op. cit.* II, No. 149.

CHAPTER V.

POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM.

Beyond Herculaneum to the southwest of Vesuvius are the extensive remains of Pompeii. Its territory originally comprised the lower portion of the Sarnus Valley, the remainder of which belonged to Nuceria and Stabiae. Standing formerly much nearer the shore than at present, it had some commercial importance in early times, and served as the port of entry for the wares billed to Nola and Nuceria and also, if Strabo's statement is credible, to Acerrae (1). As it occupied elevated ground above the mists that occasionally hovered over the river, its site promoted the health of the inhabitants and offered an agreeable view in all directions. Its position, in a word, was one of the most pleasing that can be imagined, - marked by a charm that has continued till the present moment. Furthermore in addition to the walled town there were suburbs comprising a settlement at the mouth of the Sarnus, another at the salt-works by the sea, a rural community of uncertain location, the *pagus Augustus Felix suburbanus,* and probably a *pagus Campanus.*

Though never an important city, Pompeii had an active business life which brought material prosperity. When it was no longer a port of any prominence, it still exhibited many

(1) Strab. V. 247C. The relations of Acerrae with the Samnite valley are discussed by Pais, *Ancient Italy* 175=*Ricerche stor. e geog.* 221; That this was the port of Acerrae was denied by Mau, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst* (2) 3 but defended by Nissen, *Pom. Studien* 581 and Pais, *Ricerche stor. e geog.* 221; Cp. De Petra, *I porti antichi dell'Italia meridionale* 327; Orlando, *Storia di Nocera dei Pagani* I, 187.

forms of industrial enterprise and derived favorable returns from the culture of the vine, the raising of vegetables, fishing and manufacturing. The people themselves were a mixture of Oscan, Latin and Greek elements with the usual number of slaves belonging to all nationalities; to the stationary population must be added a number of Romans who built villas on the slopes of Vesuvius. The total population has been variously estimated at from 12000 to 20000.

Pompeii was an Oscan settlement founded at an early date which is quite uncertain, but it was considerably influenced by the Greeks in the neighboring towns. In the fifth century B. C. it was subject to Etruscan domination. In the last quarter of that century it came under the rule of the Samnites along with other Campanian cities; as a result of the Samnite wars it became subject to Rome. After remaining faithful till 90 B. C. it joined the Italian allies, but was captured after considerable difficulty by Sulla and forced to receive a body of Roman colonists, who for some time enjoyed a position of superiority. Henceforth the official language was Latin, although Oscan remained the speech of a large portion of the population beyond the Christian era. It suffered much from the volcanic disturbances of 63 A. D., when a large part was levelled to the ground, and in 79 was completely destroyed by debris from Vesuvius. (1) A commission of senators, sent by Titus to investigate the needs of the stricken district, reported in favor of rebuilding, but their recommendation was never carried into effect. (2)

In contrast to the meager information which has reached us regarding the temples and cults of most of the ancient Campanian communities, in the case of Pompeii, owing to the peculiar fate which fell to its lot and the consequent researches upon its site, we have preserved for us a considerable number of facts, so that we can obtain a fairly complete

(1) There is a possibility that the earthquake occured in 62 A. D. The date is discussed by Chabert, *Mélanges Boissier* 115.

(2) For the history of Pompei' see Mau 7 f.; Mau-Kelsey *Pompeji* (2) 8 f.; Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 89; Thédenat, *Pompéi-histoire, vie privée* I f.; Nissen, 669 f.

picture of its religious life. In other places the existence of certain cults is largely problematical and based upon isolated inscriptions the origin of which is not free from doubt, but here the varieties of worship are for the most part quite certain, and can generally be associated with temples the ruins of which are still visible. Furthermore a great number of wall paintings have been discovered which had a religious or semi-religious significance. Most often, it is true, the gods appear in the portrayal of mythological legends, which are principally of a decorative character and so belong to the domain of art rather than to religion. Yet not infrequently a style of picture, usually of inferior technical execution, is found where the religious motive is evident. These include details of sacrifice and ritual, the employment of gods upon the exteriors of houses and shops as a protection, and especially representations of the Lares and the Genius for the worship of the household. They prove the piety of the occupant of the house and at the same time reveal something of his taste in religion. (1)

The advantages of a study of religion here are, therefore, correspondingly great; not only do we derive a knowledge of the religious activity of the Pompeians themselves, but also we gain an insight into conditions ordinarily prevalent in the provincial towns and thereby can supplement the scattered details transmitted to us in the case of the rest.

PRE-ROMAN CULTS, ZEUS-JUPITER

Jupiter was venerated at Pompeii under more than one aspect. There are first a few references to him without any qualifying epithet; these include a fragment which mentions a temple and a simple dedication made jointly by three persons in the payment of a vow. (2) As Milichius, the beneficent

(1) Helbig, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* I; von Mayer, *Pompeii as an Art City* 23; De Marchi, *Il culto privato di Roma antica* I, 90.

(2) C. *I. L.* X, 925:... M. f. aedem louis.; C. *I. L.* X, 926: Q. Lollius Scylax et Calidia Antiochis mater, M. Calidius Nasta Ioui u. s. l. m.

deity, interested in nature and the life of the agricultural folk, the god was introduced or at least modified under Greek influence; the only reference, however, to his cult is an inscription written in Oscan pointing specifically to a shrine which may go back as far as the third century B. C. The sense of this record is that two aediles, while improving the local roads, repaired the *uia Pompeiana* as far as the sanctuary of Jupiter Milichius. (1)

The allusion seems to be to a shrine formerly ascribed to Aesculapius, which is located northeast of the large theater, adjacent to the temple of Isis, and which opens on the *strada Stabiana*. (2) This building, the smallest in size of the temples hitherto excavated, consisted of a colonnade with a room to the right for the custodian, a court with a large altar, a tetrastyle portico, and a cella. The various parts of the remains do not all indicate the same period; the more recent portion, including most of the walls, has been attributed to the early years of the Roman colonization, while the remnants of the columns are referred to an earlier structure of the Samnite period to which the Oscan inscription belongs. At the rear of the cella was discovered a pedestal supporting two images, one representing a male, the other a female divinity, and with them the bust of a female figure. All were rude terra-cottas of poor quality whose identification has caused much perplexity. (3)

Nissen, who was the first to recognize here the shrine of Jupiter Milichius from the topographical indications of the inscription mentioned above, considered that the name Jupiter Milichius was the equivalent of Aesculapius. He thought further that the terra-cotta images represented this deity along with Hygia and Minerva Medica, and believed that this shrine primarily in honor of the god of healing was erected

(1) Buck 3=Conway 39=von Planta 28. This inscription is put among the earliest epigraphical material written in Oscan that has been found here.

(2) Nissen, *Orientation* 287 thinks that the temple, which faces the east, was oriented according to the star Pollux of the Gemini.

(3) For a description of the temple see Thédenat, *Pompéi vie publique* 67; Mau, chap. XXVI; Mau-Kelsey chap. XXVI. References to older literature in Mau-Kelsey 527.

to commemorate the advent of Greek medicine in the third century B. C. (1) The same writer has published also a later theory based upon his belief in the derivation of the essentials of Roman religion from Samothrace. According to this view Jupiter Milichius, the original inhabitant of the shrine, was identified with the « great god » Jupiter from that region, who took with him into the sanctuary Juno and Minerva, the other members of the triad. But as Nissen himself remarks, parallels for the identification of the earlier Jupiter with the Great God from Samothrace are not available. (2) More plausible, if not wholly convincing, is the opinion of Mau that the images represent the divinities of the Capitoline triad, who were temporarily housed here because of an emergency. (3) The real deity of the temple was Milichius, whose likeness perhaps appears (or at least appeared at one time) upon one of the pilaster capitals, - a bearded face with kindly expression, which attempted to make manifest the graciousness of the god. It was a token of Greek influence from an artistic as well as from a religious point of view. (4)

Jupiter was sometimes honored at street altars, one of which may be found not far from the northwestern corner of the Forum. It contains a relief in stucco exhibiting a sacrificial scene and the representation of an eagle to indicate that it belonged to the service of Jupiter. (5) Besides innumerable appearances in wall paintings that depict mythological scenes, he is sometimes found in pictures having more of a sacred character. Thus he appears in the group of the twelve major divinities, and alone with scepter and thunderbolt beneath a painted *aedicula* upon the exterior wall of a store. (6) His image too was included in private shrines. (7)

(1) Nissen, *Pompejanische Studien* 177, 535 and *Das Templum* 195.

(2) Nissen, *Orientation* 282 f.

(3) See p. 244.

(4) Mau 190; Mau-Kelsey 184; Mau, *Das Capitolium und der Tempel des Zeus Meilichios* in *Röm. Mitt.* XI (1896) 47. Cp. Preller-Robert 129; Rubensohn, *Die Mysterienheiligtümer in Eleusis und Samothrace* 198.

(5) Mau 240; Mau-Kelsey 235.

(6) Helbig, *Wandgemälde* 5, Nos. 7, 8.

(7) Helbig, *op. cit.* No. 69b.

APOLLO.

Apollo was zealously worshipped and held in high regard from the early times. This cult, an example of Greek influence transmitted from neighboring towns, was housed in one of the oldest and most magnificent public buildings of the city and was located on the west side of the Forum. Though it was long thought to be the abode of Venus, not the slightest doubt remains that it should be allotted to Apollo (1). This fact is proved by details found in the temple, such as the presence of a block of tufa shaped like an *omphalos*, the employment of griffins in the decoration of the peristyle, and the painting of a large tripod on a pilaster of the court. An inscription formed by metal dots inserted in the margin of a part of the cella floor, records the fact that Oppius Campanius a quaestor had utilized funds from Apollo's treasury for new buildings or repairs (2). The large travertine altar in front of the temple contains a double inscription which states that a board of *quattuoruiri* had let the contract for its erection. As the names of the four officials are without *cognomina* Mau suggested that the date of the monument was not later than the time of Augustus (3). The cult image itself was not discovered when the sanctuary was excavated.

As the location of this building was determined before the present scheme of the Forum's outlines was designed, it does not stand quite parallel with the Forum colonnade. Though the antiquity of the temple is demonstrated by this fact, the present building is clearly a restoration, since its materials and style of architecture suggest no earlier a date

(1) The correct indentification was made by Mau. *Bull. Inst.* 1882, 189, 205, but Engelmann had already pointed toward this solution in the *Vossische Zeitung* 1879 No. 236 and 1882 No. 409 (not accessible to me). Nissen had assigned the shrine to Ceres, *Pomp. Studien* 330; Breton, to Venus, *Pompeia* (3), 58; Overbeck, to Venus or Bacchus, *Pompeji* (3) 94; Garrucci, to Mercury and Maia *Quest. pomp.* 7.

(2) Buck 6=Conway 52=von Planta 31. Cp. Jordan, *Symbolae ad historiam religionum Italicarum* 16.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 800=D. 6354=Vaglieri 1831: M. Porcius M. f., L. Sextilius L. f., Cornelius Cn. f., A. Cornelius A. f. IIII v'r III luir d. d. s. f. locar. Mau 82; Mau-Kelsey 86.

than 200 B. C., and are in truth similar to those of the surrounding buildings. It faced the south, thus belonging to the second group of temples in point of time (1). Architecturally considered, it was an example of the Corinthian order, and stood upon a high podium, wholly surrounded by a colonnade which formed a spacious court. The cella was small and intended for a single cult statue (2).

The court exhibited an interesting example of the tendency of one deity to associate with another. Here stood a group of six statues including Apollo himself, Venus, Diana, and Mercury; two-those of Venus and Diana-were provided with altars for sacrifice. In the case of the former Mau believed that it was a survival from early times when the old Oscan goddess Herentas had no other place of worship, but, as Wolters has recently pointed out, it was more probably a recent addition to the shrine, designed as a temporary accomodation for the divinity who was rendered homeless by the earthquake of 63 A. D., when her own temple was demolished (3). So far as can now be determined there was never a separate shrine for Diana. All the gods of this court according to Nissen were chthonic deities like those honored in the mysteries celebrated at Andania in Messenia (4). But while some of the Pompeian deities can be explained as belonging to the nether realms, notably Mercury, whose statue suggests the type of Hermes Psychopompus, others as Venus are not so readily disposed of in that way. Since the distinctive mystery divinities do not appear among these images, there is no reason for seeing a connection between them and Andania. In fact the view was only plausible when Ceres was considered to be the mistress

(1) Nissen, *Orientation* 284.

(2) For detailed information about the temple see Thédenat 35-39; Mau chap. X; Mau-Kelsey chap. X; Nissen chap. XIV. References to older works in Mau-Kelsey, 520.

(3) Mau 83; Mau-Kelsey 87; Wolters, *Der Skulpturenschmuck des Apolloheiligtums in Pompei* in *Sitzungsber. der kgl. bay. Akad. der Wissens.* 1915, 47.

(4) Paus. IV, 33, 5; Nissen, *Orientation* 284 and *Pomp. Studien* 332 f. The author formed his views under the influence of the older idea that this temple belonged to Ceres, and still retains them although he abandons the claim of that goddess.

of this shrine. At the same time we may admit with Nissen the strength of Greek influence in this temple during the period of Oscan supremacy.

From the age and position of his temple Apollo must be considered the leading god of that era (1). His popularity is attested by the many traces of his influence in private houses. His name appears in two graffiti, scratched upon a pillar of the dwelling known as the *Casa del Conte di Torino* (2). Besides the many statues erected in his honor, he figures extensively in wall paintings generally in connection with myths and often accompanied by other gods (3). In one instance he appears as a healing divinity along with Aesculapius and Chiron (4). Furthermore his peculiar symbols, the lyre, the bow, the quiver, the tripod, and the crown of laurel recur constantly. Of course in all this the decorative idea is the primary motive; yet the various artistic products were not wholly free from religious associations and their cumulative mass is an evidence of the prominent position of the god in the thought of the times.

DIANA.

As indicated above, Diana seems not to have had a shrine of her own, but to have received recognition in the Apollo temple where she had an altar and an image. In this sanctuary, during the excavations of 1817 was discovered a perplexing inscription, the interpretation of which, because of its abbreviations, has revealed many differences of opinion. This notice, written upon a small pedestal surmounted by the mutilated figure of a deer, is a dedication made with the aedile's permission by M. Fabius Secundus, a man of prom-

(1) Mau, *Röm. Mitt.* XI. XI (1896) 144.

(2) *N. S.* 1911, 54, Apollon, Apoll.

(3) Helbig *op. cit.* 51 f.; Sogliano, *Le pitture murali campane* 26. He is found especially 'n late myths which received literary treatment during the Alexandrian period, as for instance in that of Cyparissus. Preller-Roberts 271 (2); Helbig, *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei* 230 (4); Sogliano *op. cit.* 28, Nos. 109, 110.

(4) Helbig *op. cit.* 54, No. 202.

inence in the life of Pompeii during its later epoch (1) The divinity here reverenced is concealed in the letters T. D. V. S., which were long interpreted for the most part on the basis of the erroneous theory that the temple in which they were found belonged to Venus. Garrucci and Fiorelli assigned the dedication to Tellus Maia; Nissen, to Tellus, Diana and Venus; Brizio, to Tutrix Dea; Guarini, to Dea Venus (2). A more acceptable supplement for the abbreviations was proposed by Tarallo, who from the presence of the deer rightly conjectured that the deity indicated was Diana and accordingly proposed the plausible reading, *Triuiae Deae* (or *Dianae*) *uotum soluit* (3). A similar supplement in which *Triviae* is replaced by *Tifatae* seems less plausible (4). That a dedication should be made here to the great deity of Capua is probable enough, but it seems less natural to employ so abridged a form of expression to designate a goddess whose home was elsewhere, and upon whose epithet considerable stress should be laid because of her foreign origin.

CERES.

The cult of Ceres was another ancient form of worship which developed from Greek influence, and was not a late growth derived from the cult at Rome as stated by Birt (5). There is in fact every reason to believe that she was worshipped here before the arrival of the Romans. Her shrine has

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 801=D. 6386=Vagl'eri 1217: T. D. V. S., M. Fabius Secundus permissu aedil. A. Hordioni Proculi Ti. Iuli Rufi. A photograph of the monument is found in *Rendic. dei Lincei* XXI (1912) 78. The dedicator Fabius Secundus is mentioned in the wax-tablets of Caecilius C. *I. L.* IV, Supp. p. 315.

(2) Garrucci, *Questioni pompeiane* 72; F'orelli, *Descrizione di Pompei* 240; Nissen 331; Brizio, *Giornale degli scavi di P.* n. s. I (1869) 252; Guarini, *Fasti duumvirali di Pompei* 154.

(3) Tarallo, *Intorno al donario del Pompeiano Marco Fabio Secundo* in *Rend. dei Lincei* XXI (1912) 69-75. The author gives a resumé of earlier opinions.

(4) Wolters, *Der Skulpturenschmuck des Apolloheiligtums in Pompei* in *Sitzungsber. der kgl. bayer. Akad. der Wissensch.* 1915, 52.

(5) Birt, *Ceres*, Roscher, I, 863.

not been discovered, but this is due rather to the circumstance that it was located in a spot remote from the center of the town. In specifying that Ceres' sanctuary should be outside the city proper and in speaking generally about temple sites, Vitruvius must have based his assertion upon a state of affairs which more or less generally prevailed (1). But, while the temple site is unknown, the names of several priestesses have been preserved, who are designated regularly as *sacerdotes publicae*. In epitaphs and in fragments discovered among the remains of the « Building of Eumachia » appear the names of Alleia Decimilla, Clodia, and Lassia, and the names of others have been lost (2). An inscription in Greek, accompanied by reliefs of the goddess, an altar and a pig, mentions Terentia Paramone as priestess of Demeter Thesmophoros; this has been sometimes assigned to Neapolis but probably belongs here, although there is no other allusion to this aspect of the deity at Pompeii (3). All these women were probably matrons; considering their office a great honor, they express with simplicity and dignity in their epitaphs their relation to their mistress Ceres. As public priestesses they were doubtless chosen by the decurions at least in the later period of the city's history (4). To that age belong Alleia Decimilla, whose husband was *duovir* in 26 A. D., and Clodia, who flourished about the beginning of the Christian era or a little later. This cult was on friendly terms with that of Venus, as will be shown later, but owing to the extraordinary prominence of the latter, there was perhaps a tendency for the former's influence to be eclipsed (5).

Ceres was also adored in the home along with the Lares,

(1) Vitr. I, 30: Item Cereri extra urbem loco, quo non quolibet nomine semper homines nisi per sacrificium necesse habebant adire; cum religione, caste sanctisque moribus is locus debet tueri.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 812; X, 1036=D. 6365=Vaglieri 1768; X, 1074a, b=D. 5053. Cp. Pestalozza e Chiesa, *Ceres*, Ruggiero II, 208.

(3) *I. G.* XIV, 702=*C. I. G.* 5865; Bloch, *Kora und Demeter*, Roscher II, 1309; Kern, *Demeter*, P.-W. IV, 2742; The reliefs in which Demeter appears are reproduced in *Kunstblatt* 1828 161. See p. 186.

(4) See p. 33.

(5) See p. 251.

and statuettes showing her likeness have been found in small domestic shrines (1).

HERCULES.

Although epigraphical evidence for a cult of Hercules is lacking, he is associated with this country in legend, and in fact was an important god throughout Campania. According to one of the versions of Hercules' travels he spent some time in the locality and a procession (*pompa*) of his booty gave its name to the town. Not only does Servius give this explanation, but also Solinus in his list of towns founded by gods or named from them asserts that Pompeii owed its existence or at least its name to Hercules (2). It is true that this theory shows the attempts of the etymologists to derive the city's name from some plausible source, yet it would have lacked point, if the worship of the god had not been important here. Furthermore the *salinae* or salt works at the mouth of the River Sarnus, where a village subject to Pompeii sprang up, were called *Herculeae* (3).

Accordingly, because of the prominence of this god in early Campanian traditions, Fiorelli thought that the so called Doric or Greek temple must have been used for his worship (4). Recently Cosenza has made the assertion that Hercules had a temple at Pompeii, but one does not know where to find it (5). But if no public shrine of Hercules has yet been discovered, various evidences for his presence appear. In the first place it has been suspected that the missing herm in the court of Apollo's temple was in reality Hercules instead of Maia,

(1) *N. S.* 1902, 206.

(2) Serv. *Aen.* VII, 662: Veniens autem Hercules de Hispania per Campaniam in quadam Campaniae ciuitate pompam triumphi sui exhibuit: unde Pompei dicitur ciuitas. Sol. 2, 5: Nam quis ignorat uel dicta uel condita ...ab ipso (Hercule) in Campania Pompeios, qua uictor ex Hispania pompam boum duxerat? Cp. Dion. Hal. I, 43.

(3) Colum. X, 135.

(4) Fiorelli, *Gli scavi di Pompei* appendix p. 14. This writer assigned to the domain of Pompeii the island *Petra Herculis* about the location of which there is some doubt.

(5) Cosenza, *Stabia* 120 (2).

as has generally been assumed (1). In the *aediculae* for the worship of the Lares his image has been found accompanied sometimes by that of other divinities (2). His likeness appears not only in wall paintings with the Genius but also upon the exteriors of houses as a protection (3). Upon one such wall was found a metrical inscription containing an invocation to Heracles to guard the house (4).

Cacus, who appears in myths associated with Hercules, was according to one interpretation a volcanic deity whose haunt was Mt. Vesuvius (5).

ATHENA-MINERVA.

Minerva was regarded as the special guardian of the city gates. On the keystone of the arch of the Nola gate facing the city a high relief of her head wearing a helment was carved in the tufa. Near the *porta Marina* a niche contained her image in terra cotta; another in the wall of the *porta Stabiana* where the passage widens to form an open court, was likewise designed to hold an image, and the cover of the well near by is marked with her emblem the Gorgon (6). In this phase of her activity she must be considered as a development of the Greek Athena, because among the Romans Juno rather than Minerva protected gates (7).

She was the patron deity of the fullers and her symbols the owl and the wreath of olive leaves decorate the wall of a cleaning establishment (8). This bird is mentiond in a wall inscription evidently written by one who followed the fuller's trade, in which there occurs a parody of the first line of the

(1) Wolters *op. cit.* 47. Cp. Mau 84; Nissen 333.

(2) Helbig *op. cit.* No. 69b; Böhm, *Hercules*, P.-W. VIII, 594.

(3) Helbig, Nos. 69, 27; *Neapolis* I (1913) 105; *N. S.* 1899, 341; Sogliano, *Le pitture murali campane* 9, No. 4.

(4) *C. I. L.* IV, 733.

(5) Winter, *The Myth of Hercules at Rome* in *Univ. of Michigan Studies* IV, 268.

(6) Thédenat, *Pompéi* 7; Mau 247; Mau-Kelsey 242.

(7) Serv. *Aen.* II, 610; Simul notandum quod deos facit opera sua euertere, ut portas Iunonem quarum dea est.

(8) *Real Museo di Napoli* IV, Pl. 49; Mau, Fig. 243; Mau-Kelsey Fig. 226.

Aeneid (1). A fresco seems to contain a picture of a festival, perhaps the *Quinquatrus*, in which this goddess was honored especially by the *fullones*. In one part of the picture a *sacellum* is probably represented. The presence of several owls shows that the deity concerned here is Minerva. The festival is portrayed as a scene of pranks and merry making in the open air during which a quarrel arises. (2) Finally the goddess like Hercules, Mercury and other divinities was sketched roughly upon a house in order to exercise a protection over it. (3)

A street inscription in the Oscan tongue is important because it alludes to her shrine. This notice was discovered in 1897 in the Strada dell'Abbondanza northwest of the Triangular Forum. It mentions a way leading to the municipal building and to Minerva, and seems to refer to a street that was subsequently closed at the farther end (4). Although the goddess was worshipped as one of the triad in the Capitoline temple, it is quite probable that at an earlier period before the introduction of the Roman state cult she had another shrine as Athena to which the above inscription alludes. Recently she has been associated with the so-called Greek temple of the Triangular Forum, which has long been a puzzle to archaeologists. This sanctuary, a Doric building ascribed to the sixth century B. C. and so the oldest in the city, was reared upon a high podium composed of a series of broad steps, thus differing from all other temples in the city. (5) It faced the east. (6) In front, in a spot where the principal altar might

(1) *N. S.* 1913, 147; Fullones. Vlulam ego cano, non arma uirumque.

(2) Sogliano, *op. cit.* 134; *Giornale degli scavi di P.* n. s. III, 103 and Pl. IV. Cp. Plin. *nat.* XXXV, 143; Jahn, *Arch. Zeit.* XII (1854) 191; Mommsen, *Römische Urkunden* in *Zeits. für geschichtliche Rechtswiss.* XV (1850) 330=*Gesam. Schr.* III, 99. For a description of the festival see Wissowa 253; Fowler, *Roman Festivals* 59.

(3) Mau 241; Mau-Kelsey 236; Helbig p. 6, No. 10.

(4) Buck 18=*N. S.* 1897, 465. The inscription was found on the north side of insula V-VI of regio VIII.

(5) The temple is dated by Pais at the end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century, and by Nissen, Mau, and Thedenat in the sixth century. Pais, *Ancient Italy* 174=*Ricerche stor. e geog.* 221; Nissen, *Orientation* 281; Mau 138; Thédenat 5.

(6) Nissen 280.

be expected, was a small sacred enclosure containing perhaps the bones of some great man of the distant past who was reverenced as the city's hero. There was also a well, the water of which served for the necessities of the temple and its ritual; according to epigraphical evidence it was the work of an Oscan magistrate, the *meddix tuticus* N. Trebius. A singular circumstance is that the temple was practically in ruins when the city met its doom, and only a poor shrine maintained the customary worship. Whether it was overthrown by the earthquake of 63 or was already badly dilapidated is disputed. (1)

The double cella and the presence of three altars in front point to the probability that the temple was devoted to several gods but these have never been satisfactorily determined. Among those that received consideration from earlier scholars were Jupiter, Hercules, Liber, and Venus. (2) According to another theory based upon the discovery of the foot of a terra cotta deer in the temple itself and a small statue resembling Apollo not far away in the Triangular Forum, the gods housed here were Apollo and Diana. (3) Admitting this possibility, Mau was inclined to attribute the shrine to them along with Minerva (4). Although Nissen later recognized the validity of the Oscan inscription as a reason for assigning the temple to a deity known as Minerva, he was inclined after a comparison with Greek shrines to think that this goddess was of a chthonic nature. (5)

The worship of the Greek Athena may well have been introduced at an early date as the result of Greek influence. Yet at Pompeii indications of her early prominence are not at

(1) For a description of the temple see Thédenat 5; Mau 137-140; Mau-Kelsey (with bibliography) 523; and especially Koldewey und Puchstein, *Die griechischen Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien* 45 f. and Plate V. Cp. Sogliano, *Il tempio nel foro triangolare di Pompei* in *Mon. ant.* I (1890) 190 f.

(2) Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji* 88; Nissen, 336 f. and *Das Templum* 204; Breton, *Pompeia* 44; Dyer, *Pompeii* 246.

(3) Sogliano (following von Duhn) *Il tempio nel foro triangolare* in *Mon. ant.* I 1890) 198.

(4) Mau 140. Cp. Thédenat 7.

(5) Nissen, *Orientation* 281.

hand, and generally in Campania except at Surrentum her cult seems not to have been of first rate importance. Hence it seems more probable that Apollo was the leading deity worshipped here, but that his worship along with Diana's was transferred more and more to the newer temple which had been built in his honor in the Forum. After the practical departure of Apollo the temple was probably not at once allowed to go to ruin, as Sogliano thought. (1) Minerva, who had formerly been a subordinate deity, was still venerated here, and gave her name to the building at the time of the Social War to which belongs the inscription noted above.

VENUS HERENTAS.

Venus, called by the Oscans Herentas, was undoubtedly one of the deities of the pre-Roman period. She was of a purely Italic origin, and probably resembled the old Latin Venus of Ardea. The only evidence for a Venus cult at this time is the altar that stood in Apollo's temple before an image. (2) Yet even when this sanctuary was restored in the tufa period (the second century B. C.), the goddess had probably been materially modified by the influence of the Venus of Eryx and was named Herentas Erycina. (3) A survival of the older conception is expressed upon a piece of pottery where Venus is called the protectress of gardens and shows herself to be a nature goddess whose interest centers in certain agricultural operations. (4) The later Venus cult introduced by the Roman colonists will be discussed in the section devoted to Roman divinities. (5)

(1) Sogliano 199.
(2) Mau 83. See p. 228.
(3) Mau 38. Cp. the account of this cult at Herculaneum p. 285.
(4) C. *I. L.* IV, 2776; Wissowa 288-289; Preller-Jordan I, 435.
(5) See p. 246.

NEPTUNE.

Evidence for the worship of Neptune consists of an inscription found outside the walls near the harbor in the direction of Castellamare. It records an offering made by a *libertinus* Sex. Pompeius Ruma, perhaps a freedman of the noted Sextus Pompey, and tends to prove that there was a shrine of the god somewhere near the city. (1) That it was not merely an isolated dedication is rendered probable by the circumstance that in the same place were found a gold chain and a portrait bust probably of some traveler who had escaped the perils of the sea. We may therefore infer that in this neighborhood once stood a shrine of the Greek sea god Poseidon or of Neptune conceived with the characteristics of the Greek deity. (2) Neptune is further mentioned in a graffito on the wall of the temple of Venus. (3)

MERCURY, MAIA.

The earliest traces of a worship of Mercury are found in the temple of Apollo, where along with the images of other divinities stood a marble herm, which has been dated as pre-Roman. (4) The facial expression seems to suit Hermes as Psychopompus better than any of his other aspects, and he was undoubtedly regarded as a god of death. Though this conception is not unnatural here, it is more surprising to find the same kind of god in a place for gymnastic exercises. Yet this is the form which he assumes in the court of the Stabian baths, derived it would seem from a Greek type, which is described by Pausanias as existing in the gymnasium at

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 8157=*N. S.* 1881, 121: Sex. Pompeius Sex. l. Ruma Neptuno u. s. l. Von Duhn, *Der Hafen von Pompei* in *Rh. Mus.* XXXVI (1881) 130.

(2) Cp. von Domaszewski, *Neptunus auf lateinischen Inschriften* in *Abhandl. zur röm Religion* 19; Wissowa 226.

(3) *C. I. L.* IV, 1764, Neptunus.

(4) Mau-Kelsey 88.

Phigalia in Arcadia. (1) It is even probable that the herm of the Apollo temple belonged originally to a palaestra and was set up in its new location after the great earthquake. (2) Mau conjectured that a statue of this god stood in the open Palaestra near the Triangular Forum, where a pedestal without a corresponding image was unearthed. Others have thought that a statue of the *doryphoros* type found near by was intended to represent him. (3)

Usually, however, Mercury was honored under an entirely different aspect. As a patron of commerce and business enterprise, his cult, if not introduced, was at least greatly strengthened by Roman influence and he gained considerable populary with the thrifty Pompeians. (4) In many wall paintings the conventional Mercury as messenger of the gods with winged *petasus* and sometimes winged sandals is the bearer of a purse. This is an unusual attribute, and alludes to the prominence given the god as one who promotes gain. In truth Mercury, the protector of trade and shops, appears more often than any other deity in the rough sketches which associate a tutelary divinity with a building. He is not, however, always depicted alone but may be accompanied by Fortuna, Venus or Apollo. (5) Beneath one of his pictures is the inscription *Mercurius Felix*. (6) A male figure in the act of pouring wine, which was painted on a tavern wall, is marked by the name *Hermes;* this was taken by Mau as a reference to the proprietor of the establishment, but it might have alluded to the god in his function of οἰνοχόος (7).

(1) Paus. VIII, 39, 4 (6). Cp. IV, 32 1; Mau 204; Mau-Kelsey 200. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* in *Jour. Hell. Stud.* VII (1886) 110.

(2) Wolters, *op. cit.* 50.

(3) Mau, *Der Fundort der Neapeler Doryphoros* in *Strena Helbigiana* 186. Mau 172; Mau-Kelsey 166; Nissen 168; Thédenat 91.

(4) Scherer, *Hermes in der Kunst*, Roscher I, 2425-2426.

(5) Helbig, *Wandgemälde* 6, Nos. 10-20, Nos. 201, 362; Sogliano, *Pitture murali campane* 9 Nos. 1-3; Eitrem, *Hermes*, P.-W. VIII, 771; Scherer, Roscher I, 2428; *Neapolis* I (1913) 105; De Marchi, *Il culto privato di Roma antica* I, 81 (1).

(6) *C. I. L.* IV, 812; Helbig, *Wandgemälde* No. 11; Steuding, *Mercurius* Roscher II, 2815.

(7) Eitrem, P.-W. VIII, 780; Mau 421.

His cult was closely associated with that of Maia, who was really an old Italian deity of fertility and increase worshipped much around Rome, where she was sometimes associated with Bona Dea or Terra ; (1) usually she was confused with the Greek mythological character who belonged to legend rather than to religion. She is generally supposed to have had an image along with Mercury in the Apollo temple, but the missing figure there may have represented Hercules (2). A considerable number of inscriptions, the work of a body of *ministri*, preserve the name of Maia along with that of Mercury. Until recently it was generally believed that the organization was originally devoted to the cult of these two deities before it adopted the worship of Augustus, but this opinion should probably be rejected. The question will be considered under the cult of the Emperors. (3)

DIONYSUS-BACCHUS.

No shrine dedicated to Dionysus or Bacchus has yet been excavated, but without doubt such a one existed. Though a painting exhibiting this god was found in the custodian's room of the Apollo temple, it does not seem to have had any religious significance and there is no indication that he was worshipped in this spot. (4) He is mentioned in short painted inscriptions and graffiti, and in the exterior wall paintings and sketches designed to safeguard the premises, he shares with Mercury the honor of most frequent appearance. (5) Several of the paintings on inside walls exhibit scenes dealing with the cult of Dionysus. Among the details which commonly appear are a shrine, a cult statue of the god sometimes portrayed amid adoring devotees, and his distinguishing emblems. Sometimes he is associated with other divinities, as Pan and Priapus, and accompanied by Satyrs or Bacchantes. Again he is the recipient of offerings either flowers or a slain

(1) Cp. Macrob. I, 12, 20.
(2) See p. 232.
(3) See p. 263.
(4) Helbig 98, No. 395.
(5) *C. I. L.* IV, 1626, 3508; Helbig 9, Nos. 23-26.

animal (1). In paintings, where the idea of decoration is the most prominent factor, he appears in innumerable instances and in sculpture is probably to be recognized in the so called bronze Narcissus of Naples. (2)

MINOR DEITIES.

Flora was worshipped at an early date among the Oscans and Sabellians of south central Italy and was regarded as an important agricultural deity. (3) The only testimony for her cult here is a tiny altar discovered in the *Casa del Fauno,* which contains her name in the Oscan form *Fluusai.* (4) A bronze statuette unearthed at the same time has disappeared. The inscription is not necessarily very old; it belonged to a house restored in Sulla's time, upon the walls of which were found several Oscan graffiti. The owner seems to have adhered to the language longer than most of his fellow citizens.

Pan's influence is seen in a wall painting referring to his cult. He is portrayed in the form of a bronze idol standing upon a column in the shade of a sacred tree upon whose branches some nets are hanging. Three men, - a hunter, a fowler and a fisherman, are in the act of doing obeisance to Pan, and have dedicated to him the nets upon the tree. Traces of letters remaining on the picture indicate that it contained an epigram of Leonidas of Tarentum in keeping with its theme (5). The many other paintings in which Pan figures have a mythological rather than a religious interest.

Slight evidence exists for the worship of Aesculapius and his companion deity Hygia. The temple and the images once supposed to belong to him are now assigned to Jupiter

(1) Sogliano, *Pitture murali campane* 51, Nos. 241-247 and *Arch. stor. Nap.* II, 601.

(2) Helbig 93 f. The statue is portrayed in *Real Museo di Napoli* XVI Pl. 28; Brunn-Bruckmann, No. 384; Mau-Kelsey 452, Fig. 259.

(3) Wissowa, *Flora,* P.-W. VI, 2747; Steuding *Flora,* Roscher I, 1484; Labatut, *Flore, son culte et ses jeux* 4.

(4) Conway, No. 46=von Planta 45.

(5) C. *I. L.* IV, 3407 (2)=*Anthologia Palatina* VI, 13; Sogliano, *Pitture murali campane* No. 197 with references.

Milichius, as explained above. (1) Salus, adopted ordinarily by the Latins as the equivalent of Hygia, appears in a one word inscription painted over two cornucopias that adorn an exterior house wall near the *Strada di Nola*. Beneath is an altar where the goddess of health was worshipped, which has the distinction of being the only one of its kind that is labelled with a name. The shrine was not of late construction, because upon an earlier surface underneath the later coating another reference to the same divinity appeared (2). Aesculapius has been found among the gods revered at household shrines but seldom occurs in wall paintings. (3)

The divinity of the River Sarnus who had so high a place among the cults of Nuceria was not wholly disregarded in the vicinity of Pompeii, where traces of his cult have been found in the wall paintings (4). He was particularly influential in the district near the river. In the so called *Scavo Matrone*, where a villa of this region was excavated a few years ago on the road to Castellamare, Sarnus is seen among the Penates in a domestic cult as a bearded personage crowned with reeds. He is seated beneath the shade of a sacred tree, the left elbow supported by an upturned urn, the right hand resting on his knee. (5) In the market place *macellum*, in the room for the sale of meat and fish he is represented among other figures which personify parts of the surrounding country, but this painting, though portraying various local divinities, is purely decorative. (6)

A wall inscription, found in the *Vico del Lupanare* is explained by Mommsen as an allusion to the divinities of a bathing establishment modelled upon those of the capital city.

(1) See p. 225.

(2) *C. I. L.* IV, 3774a, b=*N. S.* 1891, 265=*Röm. Mitt.* III (1888) 121: Salutis; Salutei sacrum.

(3) Mau 278; Helbig No. 202.

(4) Helbig, Nos 65, 1013, 1018. No. 65 showing Venus and Vesta with the Lares and Sarnus below is reproduced by De Marchi *Il culto privato di Roma antica* I, Pl. IV, and *Mon. ined. dell'Inst. arch.* III, 6a. Cp. Sogliano, *op. cit.* Nos. 39, 44.

(5) *N. S.* 1901, 426.

(6) Helbig No. 1019. Cp. Mau 94; Mau-Kelsey 98.

It is limited to the two words *Lumpas Romanenses*. (1) There is no evidence for Bona Dea in this town. Preuner was somewhat inclined at one time to recognize her figure among the Lares, but this divinity is more plausibly explained as a Genius. (2)

ROMAN CULTS, OFFICIAL PRIESTS.

The care of the official religious ceremonies pertaining to the community as a whole was in the hands of augurs and pontiffs. The first class is represented by M. Stlaborius Veius Fronto and by M. Tullius, both of whom had filled the offices of judical *duumuir* and *quinquennalis* (3). The second of these officials, who flourished about the time of the birth of Christ will be mentioned again below in connection with the temple of Fortuna Augusta. The word *augur* alone occurs in a graffito (4). Two prominent citizens who were honored with statues in the Forum and elsewhere, held the office of pontiff. The first C. Cuspius Pansa *filius* was a *duumuir* with judicial powers, the other M. Lucretius Decidianus Rufus besides this office served as *quinquennalis* and military tribune. (5) The latter belonged to the more recent period of the city's history but lived apparently before the reign of Tiberius; the date of the former is unknown. (6)

THE CAPITOLINE TRIAD.

Although the Capitoline triad was important at Pompeii, its deities were overshadowed by the extraordinary prominence won by Venus. In the large temple on the northern limits of the Forum was found a portion of an inscription headed with

(1) Mommsen, quoted by Zangemeister in note to C. *I. L.* IV, 815. Mommsen, *Unteritalische Dialekte* 256; Vaglieri, note to No. 1181; Bloch, *Nymphen*, Roscher III, 545.

(2) Preuner, *Hestia-Vesta* 240; Peter, *Bona Dea*, Roscher I, 793.

(3) C. *I. L.* X, 806; X, 820=Vaglieri 1849; X, 822.

(4) C. *I. L.* IV, 2091.

(5) C. *I. L.* X, 788=D. 6363b; X, 789=D. 6363c; X, 851=D. 6363d; X, 791=D. 6360a; X, 859=D. 6359a.

(6) Mommsen, note to C. *I. L.* X, 788, 789.

the letters I. O. M.; this was set up in the interests of the Emperor Caligula and belongs to the year 37 A. D. (1) In the cella was found also a large head of Jupiter which bears a considerable resemblance to the Zeus of Otricoli. (2) Another reference to the god occurs in a dedication made by Antistia Methe a matron, where he is associated closely with the goddess Venus Fisica. The name Jupiter Optimus Maximus also forms a graffito. (3) A Greek inscription found in the temple just mentioned, which contains an allusion to the Phrygian Zeus will be treated in the section devoted to the religions of the Orient. (4)

In the Capitoline cult Jupiter was naturally honored along with Juno and Minerva. It has already been noted that terra cotta images of these three divinities stood in the temple assigned to Jupiter Milichius at the moment that the city was destroyed. Hence the first supposition was to regard this sanctuary as the city's Capitolium, although the notion that Milichius had been the first inhabitant of the site was not excluded. (5)

To this view there are serious objections. Whenever a colony possessed a Capitolium, it tried to imitate the one at Rome so far as its own comparatively slender resources and local conditions permitted. As this cult had an intimate relation to the Roman state, and before the rise of Emperor worship served as the chief medium for the expression of patriotic devotion to the central government, it was always administered on as grand a scale as possible. Such a temple was regularly one of the largest shrines in a community, and was raised

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 796=Vaglieri 1110: I. O. M. Pro salute C. Caesaris Augusti Germanici, imp. pontif. max., tribunic. potestat. consulis..... [D]octus p. s.

(2) Gerhard-Panofka, *Neapels antike Bildwerke* 109; Brunn-Bruckmann 574; Overbeck, *Gr. Kunstmythologie, Zeus* 82, No. 13; Mau 65; Mau-Kelsey 67; Rüsch, *Guida* 97, No. 296.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 928=D. 3180: Imperio Veneris fisicae Ioui O. M. Antistia Methe Antisti Primigeni ex d. d. *C. I. L.* IV, 6864.

(4) See p. 278.

(5) Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji* 110 f., 637 (49). Here two temples are assigned to these gods and both are called Capitolia. Cp. 91. Breton, *Pompeia* 54 assigns the temple doubtfully to Jupiter and Juno.

upon an elevation either natural or artificial. (1) But none of these requirements is found in the temple near the triangular Forum, as it was unquestionably small and insignificant. It is true that the local cult of Venus surpassed that of Jupiter in an exceptional manner, so that his luster was thereby somewhat obscured ; there is, however, no reason to minimize the importance of the Capitoline triad. Moreover it can not be assumed on the one hand that the mean terra cotta images found here were the regular cult statues, and on the other hand there were no indications of a solid base capable of supporting three statues of marble or bronze. (2) To explain the presence of images of the triad in a place so unsuited to them, Mau, as stated above, advanced the theory that the three figures were merely temporary substitutes for the regular cult statues, and that Jupiter Optimus Maximus and his companions had been installed here until their own temple, which had been demolished by the earthquake could be rebuilt (3).

It is now quite generally agreed that the temple of the Capitoline deities is to be identified with the remains situated on the north side of the Forum, which belong to a building badly damaged by earthquakes and not yet restored in 79 A. D. This building rose upon a podium about three meters in height and was reached by a long flight of steps of peculiar construction, so arranged that the upper ones extended nearly across the whole front, while the lower ones occurred only toward the two sides. The space intervening between these side steps formed a platform used by public speakers. A deep portico served as entrance to the cella which was richly adorned with columns and mosaics (4). At the rear was a

(1) Mau, *Das Capitolium und der Tempel des Zeus Milichius* in *Röm. Mitt.* XI (1896) 142, 147 and *Pompeji* (2) 63, 189; Toutain, *Étude sur les capitoles provinciaux* in *Rapports de l'école pratique des hautes études* 1898-9, 28; Castan, *Les Capitoles provinciaux du monde romain* 23, 65, 105.

(2) Mau, *Röm. Mitt.* XI (1896) 143.

(3) Mau 63; Mau-Kelsey 66.

(4) The form of the ancient temple is seen in a wall relief showing the north side of the Forum, which was discovered in the house of Caecilius Iucundus. Mau 60 and *Röm. Mitt.* XV (1900) 115; Mau-Kelsey 64; Thédenat 43 Fig. 26.

long pedestal for three images, - Jupiter in the center, Juno on the right and Minerva on the left, - and adjacent were three small rooms designed to serve the needs of these gods. Noteworthy was the erection of the altar on the platform rather than on the ground below, - a peculiarity perhaps due to the belief that every thing about the shrine should be elevated as much as possible to accord with the Roman Capitolium. (1) As all these details suit well the requirements of the Capitoline triad, and a head of Jupiter as well as an inscription mentioning his name appeared among the ruins, there is no doubt that the temple should be assigned to this cult. Its situation and mode of construction, which must have made it loom up large in the Forum, and its evident magnificence, conduce to the same conclusion (2).

It is more difficult to decide whether the Capitoline triad was worshipped here from the time that the temple was erected. The age of the building itself has been variously estimated. According to one view it antedated the Roman colony and belonged to the late Oscan period, - an opinion that receives some support from the circumstance that it faces the south (3). If this date is correct, it brings to the front the perplexing question regarding the identity of the gods first honored here. The theory promulgated by Nissen, that the sanctuary was consecrated in the Oscan period to three popular Campanian deities Ceres, Liber and Libera, who were changed by the Romans to correspond to their own triad is unsupported by any evidence and has been generally discredited. (4) The same objection applies to the theory advanced by Sogliano, that the original occupants of the Capitol were Jupiter, Venus and Ceres (5). If it is necessary

(1) Mau 64; Mau-Kelsey 67.

(2) For accounts of the Jupiter temple see Thédenat 40-43; Nissen 320 f.; Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji* 90 f.; Mau 59 f.; Mau-Kelsey 63 f.; (with bibliography 518).

(3) Overbeck-Mau 95; Mau-Kelsey 66; Nissen 367, dated the temple 300-100 B. C.; more recently in *Orientation* 284 he fixes the date as before 80 B. C.

(4) Nissen 327. Cp. Overbeck-Mau 635 (38).

(5) Sogliano, *Spigolature epigrafiche* in *Atti Nap.* XV (1890) 158 f.

to admit the existence of the building a short time before the arrival of Roman colonists, its presence may be explained as the result of a Romanizing party in the city at the beginning of the first century B. C., when it was under Roman protection. This faction composed of persons interested in promoting close relations with Rome seems to have been influential, as is proved by the use of Latin in some cases instead of Oscan for official documents (1). It is even conceivable that such a temple was constructed entirely apart from Roman influence, although this supposition seems less probable. It was undoubtedly a widely spread custom to introduce the worship of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva at the time a town was founded, but there is no indication that they were combined in worship in the distinctive manner that marked the Capitoline cult. (2)

Later investigations, however, tend to advance the date of the building to the advent of the Roman colony. Architectural details which seem later than the tufa period, the uniform employment of the second or architectural style of wall decoration, and the apparent use of the Roman measures in laying out the work are the points in favor of this date. We may therefore conclude that the Capitol was a product of the new era. (3)

VENUS POMPEIANA.

Venus Herentas, the Oscan goddess, was worshipped at Pompeii in the earlier period, but, as suggested above, had probably been considerably affected by outside influences. (4) A new epoch began in 80 B. C. with the arrival of the Roman

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 794=D. 5538; Mommsen *C. I. L.* X, p. 93 and note to No. 794; Mau, *Röm. Mitt.* XI (1896) 144-145. For the possibility of the presence of Capitols in municipalities that had not received Roman colonists see the discussion of the Capitol at Capua p. 366 and the references there cited.

(2) Serv. *Aen.* I, 442; Vitruv. I, 7, 1; Kuhfeldt, *De Capitoliis imperii Romani* 18, 77-80; Nissen, *Das Templum* 88, 145; Mau-Kelsey 66; Wissowa, *Capitolium*, P.-W. III, 1538; De Rossi e Gatti, *I Campidogli nelle colonie e nelle altre città del mondo romano* in *Boll. com. arch. di Roma* 1887, 66. Cp. Müller-Deecke, *Die Etrusker* II, 43.

(3) Mau 61-63; Thédenat 40.

(4) See p. 236.

colonists. These people, conducted by a nephew of Sulla, joined enthusiastically in the worship of Venus which the dictator was promoting and made her straightway the leading deity of the city. The colony itself was called by her name, and appears as Colonia Veneria Cornelia in an official document bearin the date of 10 B. C. (1). At this period was built the first shrine of which any remains have come to light. Martial in his poem on the destruction wrought by Vesuvius alludes to Pompeii under the guise of *Veneris sedes*, « dearer to her than Lacedaemon», and Statius speaks of Venus as lamenting the destruction of her favored city (2). Generally she was called by the epithet *Pompeiana* but also was known as *fisica*. Besides the record of an offering made to Jupiter at the behest of Venus Fisica, she is cited with this title in graffiti and once in an erotic inscription with the full appellation *fisica Pompeiana* (3). The combination *Venus Pompeiana* occurs in a wall painting and in graffiti (4).

The meaning of the term *fisica* is still undetermined and there is not yet agreement as to the source from which it is derived. Rossbach, comparing the epithets φυτία applied to Leto and φυτάλμιος used in reference to Poseidon, argues for a derivation from Greek and this possibility is admitted by Marx, who, however, favors the opinion that its source is Oscan (5). The latter view was advanced by Preller, who believed that *felix* derived from *feo* had the same signification, and that Venus Felix and Venus Fisica had reference alike

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 787=C. *I. L.* I, 1252=Vaglieri 1807. A. freedman of the colony so designated may be the C. Venerius Epaphroditus of C. *I. L.* X, 1013. Cp. Nissen 218. The name of the goddess was applied to a bath on property of Iulia Felix C. *I. L.* IV, 1136.

(2) Mart. IV, 44, 5: Haec Veneris sedes, Lacedaemone gratior illi. Stat. *sil.* V. 3, 164; Quos Veneri plorata domus neglectaque tellus Alcidae....

(3) C. *I. L.* X, 928, quoted on p. 243 (3). C. *I. L.* IV, 26: N(umerium) Barcha(m) Ilu(irum) b(onum) o(ro) u(os) f(aciatis) ita uobeis Venus Pomp(eiana) sacra [sancta propitia sit]. C. *I. L.* IV, 1520. Cp. C. *I. L.* IV, 6865.

(4) C. *I. L.* IV, 538 (wall painting); 4007 (graffito); 2457 (graffito).

(5) Rossbach, *Vier pompejanische Wandbilder* in *Jahrb. des deutschen arch. Inst.* VIII (1893) 59 (21); Preller-Robert 586; Marx, *Ueber die Venus des Lucrez* in *Bonner Studien* 123 (4); Höfer, *Physike* (?) Roscher III, 2487; Antoninus Liberalis 17=*Mythographi Graeci* II, 93.

to a Campanian goddess of fertility commonly represented as a mother with a child in her arms (1). Nissen too thought that this Venus was a native deity, who was adopted by the colonists as their chief god because of Sulla's well known interest in one of her forms (2). Although the goddess was depicted in wall paintings under another aspect, the difference was explained by the supposition that she had been already assimilated to Aphrodite.

The incorrectness of this view was demonstrated by Wissowa in a comprehensive treatment of the forms of Venus common at Rome. He there shows that the Venus of Pompeii was a form of Venus Felix, and was due to the activity of the dictator Sulla in promoting the cult of his favorite deity (3). This Venus had attributes differing from those of other types, because qualities were assigned to her belonging properly to Felicitas and to Fortuna. Thus she is regularly depicted in the wall paintings as a standing figure fully clothed with tunic and pallium; she exhibits a steering-oar and a branch of olive, - the attributes respectively of Fortuna and Felicitas; her head bears a mural crown (4). As a result of these peculiar characteristics scholars were long in doubt about the identity of the goddess represented, and there was a tendency to recognize here Fortuna (5). She was recognized as Venus only when she was found in paintings in the company of the eleven other major Olympian gods (6). On coins of Sulla,

(1) Preller-Jordan I, 448.

(2) Nissen 328, 343.

(3) Wissowa. *De Veneris simulacris Romanis* in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* 18. *Rel und Kult* (2) 291; and *Röm. Götterbilder* in *Neue Jahrb. für das Klass. Altert.* I (1898) 170; *Ges. Abh.* 294; Séchan, *Venus*, D.-S. V, 734 (26).

(4) Helbig, *Wandgemälde* Nos. 7, 60, 65, 66, 295, 296, 1479. Cp. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen* Pl. 44, No. 85; Gerhard, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* Pl. LI, 12.

(5) Schulz, *Rappresentazioni della Fortuna* in *Ann. Inst.* XI, (1839) 101 f.; Cp. Brizio. *Il culto della Venus Fisica* in *Giornale degli Scavi di P.* I (1868-9) 187 f.; Garrucci, *Questioni pompeiane* 70; Jahn, *Ueber die puteolanische Basis* in *Ber. der sächs. Gesell. der Wiss*, III (1851) 132.

(6) Gerhard, *Ann. Inst.* XXII (1850) 210; Conze, *Arch. Zeit.* XIX, (1861) 184; Jahn, *Ber. der sächs. Gesell. der Wiss.* XIII (1861) 341 (188); Marx,

however, the head of Venus with a diadem is portrayed in a manner to suggest a clothed deity, and there seems no reason to question the substantial identity of the two forms of the goddess (1). Both likewise show the same relation to the Aphrodite type as a result of the presence of Cupid in the representations.

The presence of the mural crown upon the Pompeian goddess is explained by Wissowa as an innovation in her attributes to signify that she was the special protectress of the city, and there is no doubt that she did become its tutelary deity, holding the same position that the Genius occupied in other towns, but including in her personality a much wider range of attributes (2).

Several attempts have been made to connect the Venus Pompeiana with the Orient. Marx sees a close relation between her and the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias in Caria, from whom he thinks that Sulla's goddess was chiefly derived. This deity was the one to whom that leader was referred by the oracle after he had recounted his dream of victory (3). Hence nothing would have been more natural for the dictator than a revision of his conception of Venus in harmony with the aspects presented by that goddess. But actual traces of such an influence do not appear, and the traits common to the Venus of Pompeii and the Sullan Venus seen on coins have no place in the likenesses of the goddess of Caria (4).

Graillot from the evidence of a fresco asserts that she was an Oriental and as such was served by a company of *dendrophori*. The fresco represents a religious procession in which four men carry in state a Phrygian bonnet, while others

Bonner Studien 122; Helbig *op. cit.* 5 No. 7; *Ann. Inst.* XXII, (1850) Pl. K.A similar painting of the twelve gods was discovered in 1911, and shows Venus in like guise, Della Corte, *N. S.* 1911, 418 f.

(1) Babelon, *Monn. rép. rom.* 406, No. 28; Wissowa, *Ges. Abhandl.* 18-19.

(2) Wissowa, *op. cit.* 21.

(3) Appian, *b. civ.* I, 97; Marx, *Der Dichter Lucretius* in *Neue Jahrb. für das klass. Altert.* III (1899) 542 f. and *Bonner Studien* 125; Fredrich, *Die Aphrodite von Aphrodisias in Karien* in *Ath. Mitth.* XXII (1897) 378.

(4) Fredrich, *op. cit.* 365 f. and Pls. XI, XII; Marx, *Neue Jahrb. für das klass. Altert.* III (1899) 543 Fig. 1.

bear a throne upon which rests a crown (1). The evidence here is inconclusive for proving that processions of an Oriental character were held in honor of Venus because the scene in question might be an attempt to reproduce a ceremony of the cult of Magna Mater, who was worshipped a great deal in Campania, if not at Pompeii itself. Another fresco, however, dealing with a similar theme has been regarded as an allusion to the Pompeian Venus (2). Here the divinity herself is borne by elephants and thus there is a strong indication of Oriental influence. But the appearance of the elephants has been plausibly explained by Pais as the reminiscence of a definite historical event, - the triumph of Pompey, in 79 B. C. when the victorious general rode on a chariot drawn by these animals (3). Here the people of Pompeii showed their respect for Sulla by representing Fortuna and Felicitas in the company of Venus, yet at the same time showed their faith in the approaching ascendancy of Pompey by exhibiting the guardian deity of their city in such a way as to recall his triumph.

As the Venus Pompeiana differed from the other Venuses in the form by which she was portrayed, so she exhibited other qualities and characteristics not commonly belonging to this goddess. According to an earlier view, which has nothing to commend it, Venus was identical with the old goddess Libera who seems to have been important in Campania (4). Her emblems suggest that she possessed the customary attributes of Fortuna and Felicitas, and Sulla considered her chiefly as a divinity who had influence over the destiny of mankind. Thus she was by no means simply an Aphrodite or goddess of love, but embraced this as one of her spheres of influence, as is demonstrated by graffiti and the presence of Amor in paintings. In the former the Latin form Venus

(1) Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* 134 (5), 328, 433 (2).

(2) Della Corte, *N. S.* 1912, 176 f. and Fig. 2; Macchioro, *Neapolis* I (1913) 105.

(3) Pais, *Venere Pompeiana trionfante su di un cocchio tirato da elefanti* in *Atti Nap.* n. s. II (1913) 255 f.; Plut. *Pomp.* 14; Plin. *nat.* VIII 4; Granius Licinianus XXXVI.

(4) Nissen, *Pomp. Studien* 328.

predominates, sometimes with the full name Venus Pompeiana, but several times the Greek equivalent occurs (1). In some cases she was invoked as the patron and promoter of domestic harmony, and was looked upon as a goddess who presided over and regulated marriage (2). This attitude is in accord with her representations in the form of a matron with a long robe. Her dominion over nature was absolute and she was a powerful deity whose wrath was dreadful to incur (3).

Besides being on friendly terms with Jupiter, as indicated above, Venus appears to have had extremely intimate relations with Ceres (4); in fact one priestess sometimes served both, - a condition of affairs which is proved by the example of a certain Alleia, who is thought to have been the daughter of a distinguished citizen, Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius, who in gladiatorial programs is called *princeps coloniae*. This woman was not the same as the Alleia Decimilla already cited as a priestess of Ceres (5). The double priesthood found here is no novelty in southern Italy, as the same combination is cited also from Surrentum, Casinum, and Sulmo (6). Wissowa thinks that the union of the two cults is to be explained by the fact that the Ceres cult, originally of first rate importance, gradually declined after the advent of the Venus Pompeiana, with the apparent implication that the public priestesses of Ceres no longer had much to do in this cult and now gave most of their attention to Venus (7). But, although Ceres was of less importance in this community than Venus, she was by no means obscure, nor was her priesthood always

(1) Aphrodite: *C. I. L.* IV, 1589, 2096, 2411a. Cp. 4169; Venus: *C. I. L.* IV, 1536, 1625, 1410, 1839, 1921, 1985, 2483, 4200. Mau-Kelsey 496.

(2) *C. I. L.* IV, 2457.

(3) *C. I. L.* IV, 538; Wissowa, *Gesam. Abhandl.* 18; Brizio *op. cit.* 219 f.; Nissen 329; Mau 11; Marx, *Bonner Studien* 124.

(4) See pp. 231, 242.

(5) *N. S.* 1890, 333: A]lleia Mai f. .....sacerd(os) V(eneri)s et Cerer[is sib]i .....ex dec. decr. pe..... Sogliano, *Spigolature epigrafiche* in *Atti* Nap. XV (1890) 159. *C. I.L.* IV, 1177; *N. S.* 1913, 479, *Rev. Arch.* XXIV (1914) 379, No. 280.

(6) *C. I. L.* X, 680, 688, 5191; IX, 3087, 3089 (?). Pestalozza e Chiesa, *Ceres*, Ruggiero II, 208. See p. 310.

(7) Wissowa, *Gesam. Abhandl.* 23 (5).

combined with that of the latter. There were certain women who gave their attendance exclusively to Ceres as late as the epoch of the Empire, for if they had been priestesses of Venus too, they would not have omitted to mention her in their records as the more important divinity (1). But, while the same person sometimes served both deities, this condition of affairs did not always prevail.

Priestesses of Venus are doubtless meant by the term *sacerdos publica* without any supplementary allusion to a particular god. In the first place, this cult because of its importance would not be without officials appointed by the legally constituted authorities and responsible to them; again the absence of any specific designation would be missed less in connection with Venus than with any other deity. This class of inscriptions has left a number of examples. Several copies refer to the noted Eumachia, who in the first half of the first century A. D. improved the Forum by the erection of a building of uncertain purpose upon the eastern side (2). It is noteworthy that, although she is mentioned four times in the extant material, she is called uniformly simply *sacerdos publica*. Other women of prominent family who held the same position were Mamia assigned to the era of Augustus, Holconia, and Istacidia Rufilla; as the records show, they not infrequently received the honor of burial on public land (3).

An association of persons interested in the worship received the name of Venerii in the same way that devotees of Isis were called Isiaci. They are mentioned once in a wall inscription as partisans of a candidate for the duumvirate (4).

The temple of Apollo was long regarded as having belonged

(1) See p. 231.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 810=D. 3785=Vaglieri 1862, 811, 812, 813=D. 6368.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 816=Vaglieri 1065: Mamia P. f. sacerdos publica Geni[o Aug. s]olo et pecunia sua: X, 998=D. 6369: Mamiae P. f. sacerdoti publicae, locus sepultur. datus decurionum decreto: X, 950=Vaglieri 1863: Holconiae M. f. sacerdoti publicae: X, 999=D. 6370: Istalcidia N. f. Rufilla sacerd. publica; Nissen, 328, 373.

(4) *C. I. L.* IV, 1146; Walzing, *Les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains* I, 170; Liebenam, *Zur Geschichte und Organisation des röm. Vereinwesens* 35; Nissen 355.

to Venus, but a more probable identification is the shrine whose scanty remains began to be investigated in 1898 on the *Strada della Marina* southwest of the Forum (1). Nissen dates this building in the Oscan period, because it was laid out to face the south, but Mau places it at the beginning of the Roman period as one of the first enterprises of the colonists (2). The original building was a modest structure of ordinary masonry covered with stucco, and in the Imperial period seemed mean and out of date. Accordingly a new structure of marble was erected in its place, - an edifice of the Etruscan type with a deep portico in front of the cella, and the court which had enclosed the first sanctuary was enlarged. But during the building of this colonnade occurred the earthquake of 63, which overthrew the entire structure and rendered necessary another rebuilding. Nothing daunted by this disaster the Pompeians were in the act of erecting a still more sumptuous temple for their favorite goddess, when the eruption of 79 ended their efforts forever (3).

In the ruins were found a portion of a statue belonging to the Aphrodite rather than to the Venus Pompeiana type, and a bronze oar which had probably been consecrated to the same divinity (4). The location of the shrine too and its evident magnificence tend to establish the identification. Mau calls attention to the appropriateness of this site for Venus, as it is on a hill overlooking the sea; although she was not primarily a marine deity at Pompeii, an oversight of the sea may have been considered one of her functions as in the case of other Venuses. Mau also suggests that since the view was obstructed

(1) In the publication of excavations in the Notizie degli scavi (1899, 17 and 1900, 27) the temple is attribued to Augustus. Another theory connected Venus with the Greek temple on the *arx*. Nissen 330.

(2) Nissen, *Orientation* 285; Mau 120 and *Der Tempel der Venus Pompeiana* in *Röm. Mitt.* XV (1900) 304.

(3) Mau 120 f., and *Röm. Mitt.* XV (1900) 270 f.; Mau-Kelsey 124 f.; Thédenat 65. The latter believes that there was but one completed temple, that this was torn down by the Pompeians just before 63 A. D., and that they were engaged on the first rebuilding in 79.

(4) Sogliano, *N. S.* 1898, 333, Fig. 3 and *N. S.* 1899, 294; Mau, *Röm. Mitt.* XV (1900) 307.

by the surrounding colonnade, this enclosure was provided with suitable openings. But absolute consistency in such a matter is not to be expected (1).

The influence of Venus is very noticeable in private life as represented by wall paintings. Depicted in the manner already described, she appears in some of the leading houses of the town such as those of Pansa (Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius), the Dioscuri, the Tragic Poet and the Labyrinth (2). On the other hand, sculptured reliefs of the Pompeian Venus have been generally wanting. A recent discovery, however, shows a solitary example of this kind in which she is portrayed at the entrance of a cave (3).

MARS.

The age of the cult of Mars is not known. Other Campanian cities as notably Capua had temples of this god at a comparatively early date, and there is no reason for denying to Pompeii a cult before the Roman colonization (4). But there is no evidence for this period, and in the form in which the cult first appears, organized under the supervision of flamens, it is to be regarded as a product of the later epoch. One of these officials, a decurion M. Lucretius, is named in a wall inscription which assumes the form of an address upon a letter directed to him. The word flamen also occurs in a graffito with the name Macro (5). This information is valuable because of the paucity of allusions to this office in the municipalities, where, however, it was regarded as an important position (6). The god's name is seen also in graffiti. His shrine has not been discovered, but it may have stood outside the walls in agreement with the precepts of Vitruvius, that temples of Mars should not be located within a town (7).

(1) Mau *loc. cit.*
(2) Thédenat 64; Mau 278. See p. 248.
(3) Sogliano, *N. S.* 1907, 559, Fig. 9.
(4) See p. 242.
(5) *C. I. L.* IV, 879: M. Lucretio flam. Martis decurioni Pompei(s). *C. I. L.* IV, 2923; Jullian, *Flamen*, D.-S. II, 1173.
(6) Cp. p. 206.
(7) *C. I. L.* IV, 1644, 4016. Vitruv. 1, 7, 1.

VESTA.

Vesta, who had a place in the worship of the family, was in particular the patron deity of the bakers. Her likeness, appearing between those of the Lares, was frequently portrayed on the walls of bakeries and kitchens either alone or in company with other deities especially Vulcan (1). She bears a scepter and a *patera*, and in the bakeries regularly and sometimes elsewhere is accompanied by the ass, which was regarded as under her protection (2). In two wall paintings is portrayed a representation of the Vestalia celebrated by the bakers, where the place of the latter is taken by Cupids (3). A similar figure regularly appearing with the Lares in household shrines, which Preuner identified as Vesta, is now regarded as a Genius (4).

GENIUS AND LARES.

Several indications have been found pointing to the worship of a Genius associated with a particular spot. Thus a small shrine near one of the entrances to the Macellum, consisting of a niche below which are painted two serpents, has been supposed to be consecrated to the Genius that presided over this building (5).

Street shrines for the worship of the Lares Compitales, which were present at Pompeii in great numbers, exhibit a

(1) Helbig 61-65, 66b, 68; Sogliano, *Le pitture murali campane* 34, 35, 42, 43 (?).

(2) Reifferscheid, *De Larum picturis Pompeianis* in *Ann. Inst.* XXXV (1863) 126 f.; Jordan, *Vesta und die Laren* in *Winkelmannfest Programm* No. 25 (1865) 1 f.; Wissowa, *Monumenta ad religionem Romanam spectantia tria* in *Ann Inst.* LV (1883) 160; *Gesamm. Abh.* 68; Hild, *Vesta*, D.-S. V, 752; Preuner, *Hestia-Vesta* 243.

(3) Jahn. *Walker-und Müllerfeste* in *Arch. Zeit* XII (1854) 192 and *Darstellungen antiker Reliefs* in *Ber. der sächs. Gesells. der Wiss.* XIII (1861) 341; *Museo Borbonico* VI, 51; Helbig 777; Sogliano, *Mon. Ant.* VIII, 354 Fig. 53; Mau, *Röm. Mitt.* XI (1896) 80 and *Pompeji* (2) 354 Fig. 186; Mau-Kelsey 97-98.

(4) Preuner, *op. cit.* 237; Jordan *op. cit.* 14 Cp. p. 6.

(5) Mau-Kelsey 101; Mau 97.

large variety of forms. On the west side of the *Strada Stabiana* not far from the *Strada dell'Abbondanza* is a small chapel containing a bench and a long altar, divided into two compartments for the worship of the Lares and the Genius. A niche in the wall served as a receptacle for their images. Another chapel with niches and a block of limestone for an altar may be seen in the *Strada di Mercurio*. More often these gods were served by open air altars either large or small. At the northwestern corner of the *Strada Stabiana* and the *Strada di Nola* between the fountain and the water tower still stands a large altar, and on the wall behind it is a painting, which comprises an altar, the two Lares, worshippers, and a flute player. At other times a small altar affixed to a wall or a modest niche for offerings sufficed. The presence of the Genius of the place is ordinarily denoted by two serpents. In spite of the fact that Augustus ordered the inclusion of his cult with that of the Lares Compitales. no representations of his Genius have been found in the paintings attached to the street shrines (1).

The cult of the Compitales in the provincial towns was subject to the same reorganization that it received at Rome. It was in the hands of the *uicorum magistri*, belonging generally to the class of freedmen, who were assisted by *collegia* of slaves (2). A mutilated list of officials called *magistri uici et compiti* has been preserved from the years 47 and 46 B. C., when the old conditions prevailed. Likewise two *magistri* probably belonging to the same class have left a record of a gift made to the Lares Familiares (3). A mutilated list of slaves has recently been discovered. At a compitum or corner shrine excavated in 1911 another of these bodies with a

(1) Mau 238-241; Mau-Kelsey 233-236; Overbeck-Mau 242-244. Wall paintings dealing with Lares and Genius are listed by Helbig Nos. 31 f. and by Sogliano Nos. 9 f.

(2) Jordan, *De Genii et Eponae picturis Pompeianis* in *Ann. Inst.* XLIV (1872) 28; Mourlot, *L'Augustalité dans l'empire romain* 32; Hild, *Lares* D.-S. III, 940; Wissowa, *Lares*, Roscher II, 1875 and *Rel. und Kult.* (2) 171 f.; Saglio, *Compitum*, D.-S. I, 1430; Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht* II (3) 1036.

(3) *N. S.* 1908, 369: Felix et Dorus mag(istri) L(aribus) F(amiliaribus) d. d. *C. I. L.* IV, 60; Wissowa, *Lares*, Roscher II, 1875.

membership of four has left traces of its activity (1). This number occurs also at Caudium and Pisaurum and in an uncertain inscription included among those assigned to Puteoli, but *collegia* with a different number of members are cited elsewhere. (2) On an adjacent house wall, where sacred subjects were delineated, three men during their term of office caused a picture to be painted to which they attached their names. Here a priest surrounded by attendants may represent the *magister* and his assistant *ministri*. The work of these slaves is dated by De Petra in the closing years of the history of the city. (3) A number of wall paintings refer to the sacrifices offered by the *magistri*, who are generally supposed to be represented by four toga clad figures that sometimes appear in the picture. (4)

The Lares and the Genius along with the Penates were also venerated habitually in the different households. Here the Penates represented the powers that had the stores of provisions under their protection, the Lares, regularly two in number, were beneficent spirits guiding the destinies of the house, the Genius was the spiritual representative of the household's master. They were honored with offerings of incense, fruit, flowers, cake and the like, but sometimes a pig was sacrificed to the Lares. (5) These too occasionally received special sacrifices in fulfilment of vows. So the banker L. Caecilius Iucundus offered a bull to commemorate his escape from the falling temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in 63 A. D., and represented the scene in relief in his Lararium A similar votive sculpture preserves the remembrance of a felicitous escape from the falling *Porta di Vesuvio*. (6) The shrines of the household Lares did not differ materially from those consecrated to the

(1) *N. S.* 1915, 284; *N. S.* 1915, 421-422. This is one of the most interesting Compita yet discovered. In his commentary Della Corte compares the ancient Compitalia to popular religious festivals celebrated in modern Naples.

(2) Wissowa 173; *C. I. L.* IX, 6293, XI, 6367, X, 1582.

(3) Della Corte, *N. S.* 1911, 421.

(4) Helbig 13, Nos. 41, 42.

(5) Hild, *Lares*, D.-S. III, 943; De Marchi, *Il culto privato di Roma antica* I, 55 f.; Preller-Jordan II, 103 f.; Mau-Kelsey 268 f.; Mau 275 f.

(6) Thédenat, *Pompéi vie privée* 69-70.

gods of the cross roads, and hence exhibit various degrees of elaboration. In extensive establishments a separate chapel might be devoted to their worship as in the *Casa del Centenario*, but this was of rare occurrence. (1) More often a little shrine constructed after the model of a temple was attached to the wall of the atrium or garden as in the houses of Epidius Sabinus, the Conte di Torino, and the Tragic Poet. Sometime a niche in the wall with an altar beneath was accompanied by images and painting; sometimes a wall painting exhibiting altar and deities fulfilled all requirements. (2) Tradition tended to restrict the Lararium to the *atrium* and its retention there may be accounted a mark of conservatism. According to the newer fashion it was moved into the kitchen, where it is found in the majority of instances. (3)

At Pompeii the Lares always appear in pairs in the guise of youths dressed in a short tunic; one hand, raised aloft, bears a drinking horn from which a stream of liquor falls into a *patera* held in the other. In other words they bear witness to a revised form of the cult and indicate that the two Lares of the cross roads had now become regular in the household. (4) The Genius is ordinarily represented by a standing figure clad in a toga, and shows the face of the master of the house. One or two serpents complete the picture below. (5) Other gods

(1) De Marchi, *op. cit.* I, 83, 87.

(2) Reproductions of the more elaborate *Lararia* are found in Thédenat, *Pompéi vie privée* 69, Fig. 36, and 67, Fig. 34; in Mau 277, Figs. 142, 143; Spano, *N. S.* 1911, 333, Fig. 2; Hild, D.-S. III, 949; De Marchi, *op. cit.* Pls. II, III, V. For the Lares expressed by painting see De Marchi I, 91, by sculpture I, 104, and cp. I, 79.

(3) De Marchi I, 82 f.; Thédenat 67; Spano *N. S.* 1911, 334; Mau 311; Mau-Kelsey 297; Preller-Jordan II, 116 (3); Hild, D.-S. III, 942. A list of the various parts of the house in which *Lararia* have been found appears in De Marchi I, 82.

(4) Jordan, *De Genii et Eponae picturis Pompeianis* in *Ann. Inst.* XLIV (1872) 37 f.; De Marchi I, 45; Wissowa, *Lares*, Roscher II 1882-1883. Cp. however, Wissowa, *ibid.* 1886 for the possibility of an early form of the Lares cult in southern Italy in which they were regularly worshipped in the plural.

(5) Jordan, *op. cit.* 29 and *Vesta und die Laren* in *Winckelmannfest Programm*, No. 25 (1865) 6; De Marchi I, 70, 77 f. The paintings exhibiting serpents furnish a good commentary to Verg. *Aen.* V, 90.

to whom the household was devoted were represented by images or paintings, and practically all the great gods have left traces of their cult at domestic shrines. Sometimes the Genius of the Emperor took the place of the head of the house or was added as an additional Genius. (1) Thus a wall painting shows two Genii in the act of sacrifice, one of whom is probably that of the master of the house while the other refers to the Emperor. Beneath the latter appears the formula *ex s. c.*, - in accordance with a decree of the senate. This was interpreted by Mau in connection with an order of that body issued after the defeat of Mark Antony at Antium, whereby all persons in private as well as in public worship were commanded to offer libations to Augustus. (2)

The habitual representation of the Genius between the two Lares, thus giving rise to a total of three gods, may be the subject of an allusion in a graffito which contains the words *deos tuos tres*. Zangemeister, comparing certain sculptures containing the figures of Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, was inclined to see here a reference to those gods, but this explanation is impossible. On the other hand the vagueness with which the Lares and Genius were conceived and their constant representation together makes it easier to suppose that they were meant by the writer of the obscure graffito. (3)

These gods are also mentioned by name in several brief inscriptions. In the house of Epidius Rufus two freedmen made a dedication to their patron's Genius along with the Lares; another reads simply *Genio et Laribus*. Likewise a *libertinus* Felix has left an inscription honoring the Genius of his former master, the well known banker L. Caecilius Iucundus. (4) A bronze object found in a shop records the

(1) De Marchi, *Il culto privato* I, 75.

(2) Mau, *Röm. Mitt.* V (1890) 244 and *Pompeji* (2) 278; Mau-Kelsey 270; De Marchi I, 94. Cp. Sogliano, *N. S.* 1891, 258; Dio Cassius LI, 19, 7.

(3) *C. I. L.* IV, 1679: Inuicte Castres..... habeas propitios deos tuos tres ite(m) et qui leges Calos Edone. Valeat qui legerit. Zangemeister, *Bull. Inst.* 1867 88 (1); De Marchi *Il culto privato* I, 69; Wissowa, *Lares*, Roscher II 1884.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 861; Helbig 59b: Genio M. n(ostri) et Laribus duo Diadumeni liberti: *C. I. L.* X, 1235; X, 860: Genio L. nostri Felix II. Cp. Wissowa *Lares* Roscher II, 1883.

dedication made to the family Lares by two *magistri* cited above; similarly expressed is a dedication made by a certain freedman Philoxenus upon a scale weight. A wall painting of altar and serpents is accompanied by the title *Lares propitios*. (1) Finally both Lares and Genius recur in graffiti. (2)

A building on the eastern side of the Forum has been identified by Mau as a chapel for the public cult of the Lares of the whole city and the Genius of the Emperor. (3) Although there is no definite proof for this assignment, it suits the circumstances better than the theories previously suggested. (4) The building consisted of a main room with an apse in the back for the cult statues, and wings at the sides as well as a number of niches afforded room for others whose identity is altogether uncertain. Mau conjectured that the side rooms were consecrated to Venus and Ceres. (5) The building is a product of the Imperial period, and doubtless resulted from the reform of the cult of the Lares initiated by Augustus. It would be dated therefore not long after 7 B. C. when the reorganization took place. (6) No certain epigraphical material records the worship of his Genius, but a mutilated inscription due to the public priestess Mamia, who flourished during his reign may belong to this cult. (7)

(1) *N. S.* 1908, 369; 8067 (12): Philoxenus l. aed(ituus) L(aribus) fam(iliaribus) d. d. *C. I. L.* IV, 844, See p. 256 (3).

(3) *C. I. L.* IV, 1539, 4198. *N. S.* 1913, 190.

(3) Mau, *Der städtische Larentempel in Pompeji* in *Röm. Mitt.* XI (1876) 285-301. According to Nissen it was located with reference to the rising sun on May 1, the date of the festival of the Lares Praestites and the Genius Augusti, *Pomp. Studien* 272 and *Orientation* 286. Cp. Wissowa, *Lares*, Roscher II, 1871; Hild, D.-S. III, 946.

(4) Nissen, *Pomp. Studien* 303 f.; Overbeck-Mau 131; Breton, *Pompeia* (3) 131.

(5) Mau 100.

(6) *Thédenat* I, 52-53; Mau-Kelsey 102 f. (with bibliography 521); Mau 98 f.; Nissen, *Orientation* 286. Cp. Heinen, *Zur Begründung des röm. Kaiserkultes* in *Klio* XI (1911) 175.

(7) *C. I. L.* X, 816. See above p. 252 (3). This fragment, which was found among the ruins of the temple of Vespasian, was used to attribute it to Augustus.

THE CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

The examination of the cult of the Lares has shown how it was modified by that of Augustus, and the same tendency occurred in other instances, where no definite measures were taken by the Emperor to promote a reform. The cult of Fortuna, developing under the influence of the times into that of Fortuna Augusta, was served by a board of *ministri* beginning with the year 3 A. D. (1) It is the oldest example of this kind of Emperor worship, which was carried on less in Italy than in the provinces, particularly Illyricum and Africa. (2) Four other inscriptions bear witness to the activity of the *collegium*, two of which can be assigned respectively to the years 45 and 56 A. D. This board, which was called officially the *ministri Fortunae Augustae*, was composed of both freedmen and slaves; it consisted normally of four members, but apparently was not always recruited to its full strength. (3) The greater part of the inscriptions show a uniform significance and commemorate the public service performed at the instance of the city authorities. This consisted of the setting up yearly of a small statue, as provided by a regulation made by the *ministri* themselves. On one occasion, for some reason the matter fell to the lot of one of the members, and he with their consent substituted two marble pedestals in the place of the image he was expected to provide. The inscription which records this event preserves the name of a quaestor of the *collegium* (4).

(1) There is little evidence for a cult of Fortuna alone. The name occurs in a graffito and the figure of the goddess is seen in a painting found in 1899 north of Pompeii. *C. I. L.* IV, 5371; *N. S.* 1899, 494.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 824=D. 6382: Agathemerus Vetti, Suauis Caesiae Primae, Pothus Numitori, Anteros Lacutulani minist. prim. Fortun. Aug. iuss. M. Stai Rufi, Cn. Melissaei d. u. i. d. etc. Otto, *Fortuna*, P.-W. VII, 37; Breccia, *Fortuna*, Ruggiero III, 189; Nissen, *Pomp. Studien* 183.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 825=D.6385=Vaglieri 1873; X, 826=D. 6383=Vaglieri 1826; X, 827=D. 6384=Vaglieri 1816; X, 828 a fragment.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 825: Tauro Statilio, Ti. Platilio (sic) Aelian. cos. L. Statius Faustus pro signo, quod e lege Fortunae Augustae ministrorum ponere debebat, referente Q. Pompeio Amethysto quaestore, basis duas marmoreas decreuerunt pro signo poneret. Cp. Otto, *loc. cit.*; Mau 131-2; Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 100.

The seat of this cult was a temple located due north of the Forum at the intersection of the *Strada del Foro* and the *Strada di Nola*. It was a small sanctuary with a portico of Corinthian columns in form not unlike that of the Capitoline Jupiter. The cella contained niches for four ornamental statues as well as the cult image, which stood in a recess in the rear. (1) The building bore an inscription stating that it had been built at the cost of a distinguished citizen M. Tullius, and was considered at the first as a purely private enterprise like the temple of Augustus at Puteoli. (2) Nissen dates it in the second decade before the Christian era, connecting its foundation with the introduction of the festival of Fortuna Redux in 19 B. C. It belongs in fact to the third group of Pompeian temples classified by him, and faces the west, - a circumstance adduced in favor of a late date. He further calls attention to the fact that the builder was an augur, who would be familiar with the principles of correct orientation and likely to observe them. (3) Mau on the other hand believed that the temple was constructed about the time of the institution of the *ministri*. (4) It is more probable, however, that it had already been in existence for some years as the seat of a semi-private cult, and that the advent of the *ministri* marks the growing importance of Emperor worship, as it became more and more a public affair. Some of the inscriptions relating to the ministri were found here but this was not their original place. (5)

A second abstract deity associated with the fortunes of the Imperial household was Concordia, a designation adopted to honor the empresses and princesses of the ruling family. At Pompeii the public priestess Eumachia in her own name and that of her son provided the means for the erection of an

(1) Thédenat, *Pompéi vie publique* 66-67; Nissen *Pomp. Studien* 178 f. Mau 129 f. and *Der Tempel der Fortuna Augusta in Pompeji* in *Röm. Mitt.* XI (1896) 269 f.; Mau-Kelsey 130 f.; Nicolini, *Pompei*, I, part 1.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 820; Vaglieri 1849: M. Tullius M. f. d. u. i. d. ter. quinq. augur. tr. mil. a pop. aedem Fortunae August. solo et peq. sua. Nissen, *Pomp. Studien* 182.

(3) Nissen, *Orientation* 285.

(4) Mau 132 and. *Röm. Mitt.* XI (1896) 269, 283.

(5) Mau 132.

important building bordering the Forum, which she dedicated to Concordia Augusta and Pietas. (1) The time in general is shown by the fact that the son of Eumachia, Numistrius Fronto, is named as a *duouir* in 3 A. D. In this inscription Nissen rightly saw an allusion to the harmonious feelings prevailing in the Imperial household and to the filial affection of the Emperor, but incorrectly supposed that Nero and Agrippina were meant. (2) Later researches have demonstrated that the wall paintings of the building are somewhat earlier than Nero's reign, while the sentiment of the allusion suits the relations between Tiberius and his mother during the first part of his rule. It is dated by Mau at 22 A. D. or earlier; at that time the Roman senate voted an altar to Pietas Augusta, - an event followed in the next year by the use of Livia's likeness and the legend Pietas on the coins of her grandson Drusus. (3) The statue of Concordia Augusta, which was discovered in a headless condition among the ruins of the building of Eumachia, probably showed a resemblance to the Empress. (4)

A close relation existed between the cult of Augustus and that of Mercury and Maia, but its exact nature is uncertain. (5) A considerable body of inscriptions record the work of an annual board of *ministri*, whose official designation changed in the course of time. Like the servants of Fortuna Augusta they were ordinarily four in number and might be either slaves or freedmen; their activity is represented by notices of religious import pertaining to the dedications which they made at the

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 810, Vaglieri 1862: Eumachia L. f. sacerd. publ. nomine suo et M. Numistri Frontonis fili, calcidicum, cryptam, porticus Concordiae Augustae Pietati sua pequnia fecit aedemque dedicauit. C. *I. L.* X, 811 a fragment; X, 892. For a list of the chief shrines in Italy and the most important centers of the cult elsewhere see Aust, *Concordia,* P.-W. IV, 833; Peter, *Concordia,* Roscher I, 921.

(2) Nissen, *Pomp. Studien* 290 f.

(3) Mau 107-108 and *Osservazioni sull'edificio di Eumachia in Pompei* in *Röm. Mitt.* VII (1892) 116; Wissowa, *Pietas,* Roscher III 2503; C. *I. L.* VI, 562; Mau-Kelsey 111 Cp. Sallet, *Zeits. für Numis.* VI (1879) 61.

(4) Fiorelli, *Pompeianarum antiquitatum historia* I, 210; Mau 108; Nissen, *Pomp. Studien* 290.

(5) See pp. 264, 384.

instance of the two classes of *duouiri*. These records show a stereotyped form of expression.

The earliest extant inscriptions are two belonging to the year 14 B. C., while a still older one of the year 25 B. C. is partly preserved in a later copy. In the latter case P. Stallius Agatho, one of these men, is called simply *minister;* in the former M. Sittius Papia, who made a dedication to Mercury and Maia preserved in two copies, is not formally designated by the name of his office. (1) A fourth inscription exhibiting three names, and a fifth with a complete roster of *ministri* exist only in fragmentary form and are undatable. (2) Both prove that these officials had a strong interest in the promotion of the cult of Mercury and Maia, but the common mode of expression, *ministri Merc. Mai* does not show clearly their relation to it. The opinion expressed by Mommsen and until recently generally accepted, supposed that the board of *ministri* was directly in charge of the worship of those deities and from them took its name. (3) But Bormann maintains that the names of the deities are not in the genitive case but in the dative, and that they were officials connected with a *pagus* or a part of the city who made offerings to Mercury and Maia. (4) This is more likely the nature of their relation to the divinities in question.

The *ministri,* whatever may have been their exact status originally, were affected by the ever increasing tendency to make all forms of worship redound to the glory of the Emperor. They were now called *ministri Augusti* and plainly devoted themselves to the promotion of his worship, but sometimes

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 885, Vaglieri 1160; C. *I. L.* X, 886; D. 6389; C. *I. L.* X, 884, D. 6388.

(2) C. *I. L.* X, 887; *N. S.* 1895, 215, D. 3207. A fragment X, 889 seems to be of similar import.

(3) Mommsen, C. *I. L.* X, p. 109; Heinen, *Zur Begründung des röm. Kaiserkultes* in *Klio* XI (1911) 150 (3); Krall, *Wiener Studien* V (1883) 315 (1); Steuding, *Mercurius,* Roscher II, 2817-18; Mau 84; Vaglieri, *Sylloge epigraphica* p. 144; Mourlot, *L'Augustalité dans l'empire romain* 65 (6); L. Taylor, *Augustales, Seviri Augustales and Seviri* in *Trans. of the Am. Phil. Assoc.* XLV (1914) 238 (23).

(4) Bormann, *Aus Pompeji* in *Wiener Eranos* (1909) 314; f.; Wissowa 80 (4); Wolters, *Sitzungsb. d. kgl. bay. Akad. d. Wissens.* 1915, 30.

still made offering to Mercury and Maia. (1) A reason for this preference would lie in the fact that Augustus was not infrequently likened to that divinity, and was even called by his name, as is revealed by an examination of the poetry of that period. Here the poets did not have in mind the Greek Hermes but the Italian god of commercial intercourse, who brought unstinted prosperity through business relations. Yet the identification of Augustus with Mercury was not taken too seriously, as the former during his lifetime and after his death when deified officially, preserved his independence and was reverenced as a separate divinity. (2) The first dated inscription containing the combination *min. Aug.* belongs to the year 2 B. C., the second to 1 A. D., and the third to 3 A. D. (3) To the latter belongs also a dedication made by another member of the board, who is called simply a *minister* with no allusion to the Imperial cult. (4) This, therefore, seems to have been the old designation, which only gradually gave way before the new one; the latter is interpreted by Bormann as *ministri Aug* (*ustales*) rather than *ministri Aug* (*usti*). (5).

The last inscription is dated in the year 40. (6) Thus the evidence for these officials, as Mommsen pointed out, continues only as long as the Emperors of the Julian *gens* remained in power; after the reign of Gaius no trace of them appears. The seat of the cult which they had in charge was probably destroyed at the time of the great earthquake and

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 888; Vaglieri 1161: Gratus Arri, Messius Arrius Inuentus, Memor Istacid(i) min. Aug. Merc. Mai ex d. d. iussu[..... This is dated by Bormann as later than 2 B. C., *op. cit.* 315.

(2) Kiessling, *Horatius* in *Philologische Untersuchungen* II, 77 (37); Steuding *loc. cit.*; Mau 85; Wissowa 93. Cp. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 176.

(3) C. *I. L.* X, 890; D. 6391, Vaglieri 1162; X, 891, 892; *N. S.* 1900, 270. Cp. Stein, *Jahresber. über die Fortsch. der class. Altert.* CXLIV (1909) 251.

(4) *N. S.* 1890, 331, *E. E.* VIII, 316, Vaglieri 1024. The divinity honored here is concealed in the letters A. A. P. R. D. D. for which Mommsen suggests as supplement: Annonae Augustae populi Romani donum dat.

(5) He regards the mention of Augusti in X, 892 as an error, but this seems improbable. It is possible, however, that there was at first the use of both forms and that one went out of use. Bormann *op. cit.* 316.

(6) C. *I. L.* X, 893-923. The latest inscription that actually names these officials belongs to the year 34. Taylor *loc. cit.*

was not afterwards rebuilt, since the need for their services no longer existed. (1)

Augustus was likewise the chief object of worship in the official ceremonies of the suburban district bearing his name. This division of the Pompeian territory, which was called *pagus Augustus felix suburbanus,* can not be definitely located, but perhaps consisted of a tract of land north of the *Porta Ercolanese,* where at least one inscription referring to it has been found. (2) Neither the *pagus,* however, nor all of its official machinery was a creation of the Empire; it seems rather to have been formed in Sulla's time and at first to have been called *pagus felix* from his name. Nissen considered that its inhabitants were Oscans who had been compelled to leave the city proper in order to make room for the followers of the dictator, but the district may be merely a geographical division. (3) At this time the *magistri* of the *pagus* were already in existence, and are mentioned once before it received the name of Augustus. (4) Another inscription preserving the name of this district is of doubtful significance because of the form of expression. (5) As interpreted by Mommsen, it means that *magistri* of the *pagus* honored an actor Sorex, whom he identifies with one of the favorites of Sulla. He states that a recollection of this man had been preserved here as Sulla had an estate at Cumae. But since the inscription alludes to the reign of Augustus, this opinion seems unfounded. (6) Mau's interpretation, understanding *magistri* as a genitive case form, seems preferable; in this case Sorex himself was an officer of the *pagus,* and in his honor two herms were set

(1) Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 109.

(2) *N. S.* 1898, 499, D. 6376: M. Mundicius Malchio, M. Clodius Agatho mag. ex p(aganorum) c(onsensu) f(aciundum) c(urauerunt).

(3) Nissen, *Pomp. Studien* 381; Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 90; Galli, *Pompei dall'89 all'80 av. Cristo in Rendic. Nap.* XXI (1907) 538.

(4) *E. E.* VIII, 317, D. 6377: .....lius C. l. Philomus(us) mag. pagi felicis suburbani ex testam. etc.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 814, D. 5198, Vaglieri 1872: C. Norbani Soricis, secundarum, mag(istri) pagi Aug. felicis suburbani ex d. d. loc. d. Thédenat, *Pompéi vie publique* I, 72, erroneously calls him a *minister.*

(6) Mommsen, *Ber. der sächs. Gesells. der Wiss.* XI (1854) 159; Vaglieri, *Sylloge epig.* note to No. 1872. Cp. Overbeck-Mau 106.

up, one in the temple of Isis and the other in the « Building of Eumachia ». To both enterprises he had perhaps made a contribution. (1) The magistri were expected to provide amusements for the people, but sometimes at the request of the decurions offered a substitute. Thus on one occasion they constructed a section of seats in the amphiteater. (2) Although they were generally freedmen, yet one of their number was a member of the influential family of the Clodii. (3)

Pagani are likewise mentioned individually and collectively. In their collective capacity they set up an honorary inscription for M. Holconius Celer, a wealthy priest of Augustus, toward the close of that monarch's reign. (4) L. Laturnius Gratus as a slave had been a *minister* and after obtaining his freedom served as a *paganus;* another was an Augustalis; a third N. Istacidius Helenus is cited only for this position. (5) While the function of these officials seems to have been connected chiefly with the religious observances of their community, nothing is known about their specific duties or their relation to the *magistri.* (6) Below the latter were the *ministri,* who were always slaves. They formed a board of four and are mentioned in an inscription of 7 B. C., which purports to record the services of the first incumbents of this position. (7)

More important than the various boards of *ministri* was the association of freedmen, who here as elsewhere in this region bore collectively the appellation of Augustales. (8)

(1) Mau 182; Mau-Kelsey 176; Thédenat 72; Fornari, *Le memorie isiache di Pompei* in *Riv. storico-crit. della scienza teol.* V. (1909) 455.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 853; Vaglieri 1874; Mag. pag. Aug. f(el cis) s(uburbani) pro lud. ex d. a.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1042; D. 6378; *E. E.* VIII, 317; *C. I. L.* X, 1074c; Vaglieri 1789: A. Clodius M. f. Pal. scriba magist. pag. Aug. fel. sub.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 944.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 1027; D. 6379; Vaglieri 1870; *C. I. L.* X 1028; X, 1030; *N. S.* 1894, 15; D. 6380; Vaglieri 1871.

(6) Mau 13.

(7) *C. I. L.* X, 924; D. 6381; Vaglieri 1869: Dama Pup(i) Agrippae, Manlianus Lucreti, Anteros Stati Rufi, Princeps Mescini ministri pagi Aug. fel. suburban. primi posuerunt etc.

(8) *C. I. L.* X, 977. Cp. IV, 503, 1731; and *N. S.* 1892, 120, conjectured to be from Pompeii.

Five names of the members are known, who when taken singly are designated simply by the title of Augustalis; in other words there is no trace of the term *seuir*. One of them M. Cerrinius Restitutus, who is cited twice in the wax tablets of Caecilius Iucundus, belongs to the close of the city's history; another C. Caluentius Quietus, who can be dated in the same way, flourished in Nero's reign. (1) The others have left no indications of date but Miss Taylor is inclined to believe that they are all later than the inscriptions referring to the *ministri Aug (ūsti)*. (2) Between the two organizations there was probably no direct relationship. One of the officers called *magister Augustalis*, who presided at meetings of the organization to which he belonged, is also known. (3)

In two cases Augustales received special dignities in the form of a permission granted them by the decurions for the use of the *bisellium*, a special kind of long seat. (4) According to Neumann this distinction was awarded regularly to Augustales, when there was a desire to confer some honor upon them, while *seviri Augustales* under the same conditions received the *sella curulis*. (5) A mutilated inscription, a large part of which has been lost, may belong to a record of the conferment of the *ornamenta Augustalitatis* upon some one who because of age or some other impediment was not eligible to hold the office in the regular way. (6) The evidence for the presence of a special set of Augustales for Nero is dubious. It consists of a graffito, where the reading *Neroneis Augusta (libus)* is uncertain. (7) As Pompeii was zealous in promoting the worship of the Julian *gens*, and is known to have fostered

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 994, 995, 1026; 6372.

(2) C. *I. L.* X, 1034, 1066; *N. S.* 1894, 384. Taylor, *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XLV (1914) 238 (23).

(3) C. *I. L.* X, 1055; D. 6374: C. Nouellius Natalis mag. Aug. Von Premerstein, *Augustales*, Ruggiero I, 835.

(4) C. *I. L.* X, 1026; Vaglieri 1875 (C. Caluentius Quietus); X, 1030; D. 6373; Vaglieri 1876 (C. Munatius Faustus). The figure of the *bisellium*, which is found on the altar of Faustus is reproduced by Overbeck-Mau 415, Fig. 214.

(5) For instances of this distinction see Neumann, *Bisellium*, Roscher III, 502 and De Ruggiero, *Bisellarius*, Ruggiero I, 1007.

(6) C. *I. L.* X, 1025.

(7) C. *I. L.* IV, 1745: Roma ual(e); Neroneis Augusta(libus) feliciter.

the cult of Nero, it would not be surprising to find an organization devoted to him during his life time, but there is as yet no good evidence for believing in its existence.

A room in the Macellum provided with an altar and apparently used for serving meals of a formal, religious character may have been allotted to this *collegium*. Possibly, however, it was assigned to a priestly organization of higher rank. (1)

In addition to the various forms of the Imperial worship already enumerated, Augustus and his successors were honored by the ministrations of special priests of high rank. (2) These men, called now priests and now flamens, were citizens of the highest standing in the community and held the most important offices. (3) Thus a flamen of Augustus was the eminent M. Holconius Rufus, who was a patron of the colony and took a leading part in the restoration of the large theater. His activity in municipal affairs was at its height about the beginning of the Christian era. (4) As he held the office of *quinquennalis* for the fourth time in 2. B. C. and was then a flamen of Augustus, the worship of the ruler was maintained publicly at least as early as that date. (5) Nissen, calling attention to the evidence that at the beginning the cult of Augustus was strictly of a private nature, believes that there was at first a considerable party opposed to its development and that it grew with difficulty. (6) But, although it developed gradually here and had a less favorable atmosphere for its propagation, there is little indication that it had a worse enemy to contend with than indifference. Not only were a large number of organizations occupied with its ceremonies, but also in

(1) Mau-Kelsey 100; Mau 96; Overbeck-Mau 125.

(2) Cp. Hirschfeld, *I sacerdozi municipali nell' Africa* in *Ann. Inst.* XXXVIII (1866) 53.

(3) Herbst, *De sacerdotiis Romanorum municipalibus* 8; Beurlier, *Le culte impérial* 169, 177-178: Geiger, *De sacerdotibus Augustorum* 1; cp. 8.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 830; D. 6361b; Vaglieri 1809; X, 837; D. 6361; Vaglieri 1808; X, 838; D. 6361a; Vaglieri 1810; also the fragments X, 947, 948, 949; Examples of the combination of priest of Augustus and patron of a colony are given by Beurlier, *op. cit.* 181 (2).

(5) Heinen, *Klio* XI (1911) 171 (1); Nissen, *Pomp. Studien* 243.

(6) Nissen 183; and *Orientation* 348.

addition to these persons of low social standing, people of the higher classes became interested and provided buildings at their own expense. A younger Holconius with the cognomen Celer, who was associated in the work of the theater just mentioned, kept up the interest of his family in the worship of Augustus, and filled the same priesthood. He was an incumbent of the duumvirate at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius and was filling the priesthood of Augustus at the time when the latter was deified. (1)

A fragment points to the cult of the Empress Livia carried on by a priestess Vibia Sabina, but the reading is not certain. As she is called apparently Julia Augusta, the notice belongs to the period between the death of Augustus and her consecration at the hands of Claudius, when her worship by *flaminicae* is attested for Gallia Narbonensis. (2) A gladiatorial announcement, the reading of which is doubtful, perhaps refers to a priest of Claudius. (3) The substance of the inscription is that contests will take place on the occasion of the dedication of an altar in the interest of the welfare of the Emperor and his family. The priest is a distinguished citizen Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius, who was a *quinquennalis* in the year 55-56. In the Macellum, as reconstructed, a room at the east end was fitted up for the cult of the Emperors. Mau believed that this was done in the time of Claudius, who was probably worshipped at Pompeii during his life time. Here were discovered statues identified as likenesses of Octavia and Marcellus, the sister and the nephew of Augustus, and with them an arm holding a globe, which Mau attributed to a statue

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 840; D. 6362: M. Holconio Celeri d. u. i. d. quinq. designato Augusti sacerdoti. X, 945; D. 6362a: M. Holconio M. f. Celeri sacerdoti diui Augusti. X, 941-944, 946 fragments.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 961: Vibiae C. f. S[abinae sacerdoti lu]liae Aug. *C. I. L.* XII, 1363, 4249.

(3) *C. I. L.* IV, 1180; Vaglieri 2180. Pro salute [Ti. Claudi] Caesaris Augu[sti] liberorumqu[e eius et ob] dedicationem aeae fam(ilia) gladiat(oria) (?) Cn. Allei Nigidi Mai flami[nis Ti. Claudi] Caesaris Augusti pugn(abit Pompeis sine ulla dilatione etc. Garrucci, *Bull. Nap* .n. s. I (1853) 116.; Zangemeister, *Arch. Zeit.* XXVI (1868) 88.

of the Emperor Claudius. He further conjectured that statues of Agrippina and Nero also stood in the shrine. (1)

The latter was honored with a special priest even during the life time of Claudius. A number of advertisements of approaching gladiatorial combats contain the name of his permanent priest D. Lucretius Satrius Valens; these notices belong to the period 50-54 A. D. (2) Although no inscriptions have been found to prove a cult of Vespasian, there is reason to believe that his worship was prominent. A small temple on the eastern side of the Forum, which previously since the time of Garrucci had generally been considered the shrine of the first of the Emperors, has been assigned by Mau to the service of Vespasian. (3) The knowledge that the temple was in honor of an Emperor is derived from the fact that its altar contains reliefs exhibiting oak leaves and laurel, - emblems of the Imperial dignity. The circumstance, also pointed out by Mau, that a bull was represented as the sacrificial victim, shows that the temple was consecrated to the Genius of an Emperor still living rather than to one of the Diui. (4) As the laurel wreath is absent from the coins of the rulers between Augustus and Vespasian, and the temple itself is to be dated as a late work begun after the great earthquake, the theory that Vespasian was honored here is rendered very probable. On the contrary, apart from other considerations, the supposition that a temple should be dedicated to the Diuus Augustus so long after his death is quite unlikely. (5)

(1) Mau 95 and *Statua di Marcello* in *Atti Nap.* XV (1891) 133 f.; Mau-Kelsey 99.

(2) C. *I. L.* IV, 1185, 3884; D. 5145; *N. S.* 1914, 106. Nero's name was afterwards deleted. A list of the flamens and priests in this cult is given by Geiger, *op.cit.* 69.

(3) Garrucci, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. II (1854) 4 and *Questioni pompeiane* 76; Nissen, *Pomp. Studien* 270-275 and *Orientation* 286, where the shrine is still treated as that of the Genius of Augustus; Overbeck-Mau 117.

(4) Cp. *C. I. L.* I, p. 384; VI, 2042 (inscriptions of the Arval Brethren); Wissowa, *Arvales Fratres,* P. W. II, 1485.

(5) Mau, *Sul creduto tempio del Genio di Augusto* in *Atti Nap.* XVI (1892) 182-188 and *Pompeji* (2) 102-105; Mau-Kelsey 106 f.; Thédenat 53-56; Cesano, *Genius,* Ruggiero III, 460.

ORIENTAL CULTS, ISIS.

The only Oriental cult known to have had a temple at Pompeii was that which was occupied with the worship of the Egyptian deities. (1) Since it was known to the people of Campania a long time before it existed in Rome and a temple was built in the neighboring city of Puteoli in the second century B. C., it is probable that adherents of the cult were to be found at Pompeii in that period. Soon its devotees were numerous enough to require a temple, which was erected about the beginning of the first century B. C. (2) Either at its foundation or at a subsequent date it passed directly under the control of the city; in other words the public authorities recognized this cult, although it was purely foreign in origin, as one of the legitimate forms of worship for the community. Lafaye calls attention to the use of *aedes* rather than *templum* to designate this building and regards it as evidence for a benevolent toleration rather than for official recognition. Likewise, it may be said that this term is strictly appropriate for a shrine like this, built without *inauguratio,* but the word is not always accurately used (3). That it was subject to official supervision is proved by the epigraphical evidence, which indicates that the decurions had control over the assignment of places for statues in the court. (4)

This shows that the new religion made its appeal mostly to the lower classes and in the earlier part of the Empire had

(1) The name Sarapion, occurring at Pompei, seems to be that of a workman. *I. G.* 704. A dedication by a man of the same name was found in a temple of Isis at Philae (Egypt).

(2) Lafaye, *Les divinités d'Alexandrie hors de l'Égypte* assigns the first temple to the second century; Nissen, *Pomp. Studien* 174 to the Oscan period 200-80; Fornari, *Le memorie isiache di Pompei* in *Riv. storico-crit. delle scienze teol.* V (1909) 451; Cumont, *Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (2) 121 to 100 B. C.; Mau 175 to about 135 B. C. Lovatelli, *Nuova Antologia* series 3, No., 28, 112 (1890) 37; Wissowa 351 (1).

(3) Lafaye, *op. cit.* 181. The temple of Fortuna Augusta is also called *aedes.* Cp. Saglio, *Aedes, D.-S.* I, 92; Habel, *Aedes,* P.-W. I, 444. That the temple was strictly an *aedes* and not founded with the ceremony of *inauguratio* is denied by Fornari *op. cit.* 452.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 814, 849; Mau 176; Mau-Kelsey 170.

made little progress among the aristocracy; in fact during this same period at Rome, it was first persecuted and then tolerated, and although it was legitimatized by Nero did not become fully popular among the ruling classes till after Pompeii had ceased to exist. (1) Hence when the original building collapsed in 63 A. D., a rich freedman's family provided the means for its restoration, — a fact recorded by an inscription affixed above the door leading into the temple court. From this source we gather that N. Popidius Ampliatus and his family were much interested in the cult, and consequently determined to honor the goddess and improve the city by rebuilding the fallen shrine. As the head of the household himself was unable because of his birth to profit by his munificence to the extent of receiving the decurionship from the grateful community, he did the work in the name of a six year old son, who duly became a decurion. (2) He also contributed in his own name a statue of Bacchus, who was sometimes identified with the Egyptian Osiris. (3) In the mosaic pavement of the temple were placed the names Popidius Celsinus belonging to the boy, Corelia Celsa, alluding to the mother, and Popidius Ampliatus, the reference of which is disputed. (4)

It has been held by Nissen and Mau that another son is meant here who bore the same name as the father. (5) The evidence for this view is the statue and inscription already cited where the head of the household is called *pater*. But this addition was made to call attention to his relationship to the nominal builder of the sanctuary rather than to distinguish him from a son of the same name.

If there was such a son and he was commemorated by the

(1) Wissowa 351 f.; Preller-Jordan II, 377 f.; Lafaye, *op. cit.* 159 f.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 846, D. 6367, Vaglieri 1827: N. Popidius N. f. Celsinus aedem Isidis terrae motu conlapsam a fundamento p. s. restituit. Hunc decuriones ob liberalitatem, cum esset annorum sexs ordini suo gratis adlegerunt. The word *sexs* has sometimes been regarded as an abbreviation for *sexaginta* Breton, *Pompeia* (3) 46 (3); Mazois, *Les ruines de Pompei* IV, 25 (2).

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 847: N. Popidius Ampliatus pater p. s. Lafaye, *op. cit.* 7, 190.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 848: N. Popidi Ampliati, N. Popidi Celsini, Corelia Celsa.

(5) Mau 176; Mau Kelsey 170; Nissen, *Pomp. Studien* 347.

appearance of his name in the temple floor, the word *filius* should have appeared to prevent an obvious confusion with his father, who without the presence of a distinguishing epithet would certainly be understood here (1).

The shrine of the Egyptian deities was a more complicated affair than those consecrated to the worship of Greek and Italian deities, because its services and ceremonies were much more extensive and complex (2). The temple proper was of a peculiar shape, not Egyptian in character and yet differing from the common Roman models (3). The cella, which was extremely long in proportion to its width, had a narrow portico in front and projecting niches at each extremity for the reception of images. The statue of Bacchus mentioned above was fitted into the exterior wall of the cella at the back. In front were several altars of different sizes; at one corner was a pit for the disposal of refuse, at the other was an unroofed structure usually called the « Purgatorium » with a flight of steps leanding to an underground chamber which contained the holy « Nile » water used in the ritual. Though the temple itself had an eastern frontage probably because of the exigencies of the available land, the Purgatorium was built in true Egyptian fashion to face the north (4). All these accessories together with the temple itself were surrounded by a colonnade on one side of which, facing the entrance to the temple, was a little shrine supposed to have been devoted to Horus-Harpocrates. As the ritual demanded the daily performance of ceremonies, quarters were provided so that a priest might always be in attendance.

Beyond the colonnade in the rear of the sanctuary were two other rooms utilized for the ceremonies of the cult. The larger is sometimes explained as having been employed for serving a common ritualistic meal to the devotees and for pre-

(1) Thédenat 74; Fornari *op. cit.* 458; Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompei* 361.

(2) Lovatelli, *op. cit.* 47 f.; Mau 182 f.; Mau-Kelsey 176 f.

(3) Mau 177; Mau-Kelsey 171; Nicolini, *Pompei* I part. 2. Nissen, *Orientation* 98 thinks that it was oriented to agree with the sun of July 20, the old Egyptian New Year.

(4) Nissen, *Orientation* 281; Fornari, *op. cit.* 453; Lafaye, *op. cit.* 183.

senting the myth of Isis and Osiris. (1) It was more likely used as a meeting place for the flourishing band of Isiaci, who were organized in connection with this cult. (2) The smaller room was devoted to the secret ceremonies of initiation, which appear to have been held at night, as a large stock of lamps was stored in an adjoining closet. (3) Besides the lamps and other vessels accumulated here, the temple yielded a large number of small objects; those pertaining to the ceremonies include a *sistrum*, vessels of clay, bronze, lead, and glass, a gold cup, an iron tripod, a marble table, a bronze knife, lamp, brazier and candlestick, a marble hand and two human skulls. These served for the common meal, the sacrifices, procession, and initiations. Finally a stone slab covered with hieroglyphics portraying scenes of prayer was unearthed near the great altar, and fragments of inscriptions and votive offerings are said to have been found in considerable numbers. (4) There is no evidence for the assertion of Trede that it was used as a dream oracle. (5)

The principal deities Isis and Osiris were represented by cult statues within the cella. Other related divinities stood in the projecting niches at the sides of the temple, — perhaps Anubis and Harpocrates, who also had a shrine in front. These statues seem for the most part to have been removed by the priests at the time of the great disaster. Yet two were left on their pedestals against the west wall of the colonnade, one of which represents Isis, the other Venus. (6) Here as often the

(1) Mau 186; Mau-Kelsey 180-181.

(2) Overbeck-Mau 109; Lafaye *op. cit.* 185; Walzing, *Étude hist sur les corp. prof.* I, 216; Cp. Guimet, *L'Isis romaine* in *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.* 1896, 157.

(3) Mau 186-187.

(4) Lafaye, *Les divin. d'Alexandrie hors de l'Égypte* 191; Drexler, *Isis*, Roscher II, 526; Trede, *Das Heidentum in der röm. Kirche* IV, 313. For more complete descriptions and plans of the temple see Mau-Kelsey 168 f. (with bibliography 526); Mau 174 f.; Thédenat 70 f.; Lafaye 179 f., and *Isis*, D.-S. III, 585; Nissen, *Pop. Studien* 170 f.; A bibliography is given by Drexler, Roscher II, 399. The temple of Isis and its priests play a prominent part in Bulwer-Lytton's romance « The Last Days of Pompeii ».

(5) Trede, *op. cit.* I, 110.

(6) *C. I. L.* X, 849: L. Caecilius Phoebus posuit l. d. d. d. The statue of Venus has disappeared. Overbeck-Mau 649 (208). That of Isis is reproduced

two goddesses were associated, but there is no probability, as maintained by Gerhard, that Isis was assimilated to the likeness of the Pompeian Venus. (1) The first statue was set up by a freedman L. Caecilius Phoebus in the spot allotted by the decurions; it belonged to the first temple and is listed by Lafaye among the earliest works of art which illustrate the cult outside of Egypt. (2) Furthermore, small images of various materials and many marble fragments of statues, which had been composed mainly of wood, were discovered. A painting representing Harpocrates is still extant. Here he appears as a youth with his finger in his mouth, and is accompanied by the familiar emblems of the horn of plenty and the lotus; before him stands a priest and in the background is a temple. (3) Stucco reliefs in the Purgatorium represent two Egyptian goddesses and priests both male and female doing obeisance to a vase of holy water. In the colonnade were painted priests of Isis and marine subjects, which called attention to her as mistress of the sea (Isis Pelagia). (4)

These gods have also left their mark in various dwellings. In a wall painting belonging to a house situated in the *Strada Stabiana,* Isis appears as a winged deity wearing tunic and sandals. Upon her head rests a crescent, in her hands are the *sistrum* and the horn of plenty. Other details of the picture are a globe and a steering - oar. She is accompanied by a youthful horseman, identified as Horus, and by a Cupid-like figure carrying a torch. This picture came into existence from the work of a certain Philocalus. It seems to represent an early amalgamation of Isis with Fortuna, a conception which does not appear in inscriptions before the second century A. D. (5)

in Clarac, *Musée de sculpture* Pl. 990, No. 2580; Nicolini, *Tempio d'Iside* Pl. VI in *Pompei* I, part. 1. Cp. Lafaye *op. cit.* 189-190; Overbeck-Mau 106.

(1) Gerhard, *Arch. Anzeiger* 1863, 51; Drexler, *Isis,* Roscher II, 499.

(2) Lafaye, *op. cit.* 241.

(3) Helbig 3, No. 1; Lafaye 188; and *Isis,* D.-S. III, 580; Mau, 178; Mau-Kelsey 173.

(4) Lafaye, *Les divin. d'Alexandrie* 191; Mau 180. Cp. Drexler, Roscher II, 482; von Bissing, *The Cult of Isis in Pompeian Paintings* in *Trans. Third Intern. Congr. for Hist. of Rel.* I, 225.

(5) *C. I. L.* IV, 882: Philocalus uotum sol(uit) libes merito. Helbig 25,

The *Casa degli Amorini dorati,* excavated in 1902-1905, contains a *sacellum* and a painting with many symbols of the cult. Fornari suspects from the presence of tragic masks in the house decoration and other details that it belonged to an actor probably Sorex, one of whose herms came from the Isis temple. (1) Other paintings exhibit Isis often in company with Serapis, Anubis, and Harpocrates. (2)

Stray notices appearing on the walls have preserved a few bits of information about members of the congregation of Isis worshippers. In election placards the *Isiaci* appear as backers of particular candidates for the aedileship, - C. Cuspius Pansa and Cn. Heluius Sabinus, who were devotees or patrons of the cult or who had manifested at least a pre-election interest in its welfare. The name of Pansa's supporter Popidius Natalis is seen upon a water jar found in the temple. (3) This organization, which probably had a meeting place in the shrine, as suggested above, included in its membership the priests and most zealous worshippers of Isis; it doubtless was large and exercised considerable influence in certain circles of society. (4) More important is a graffito in Greek, which was discovered in 1892 in the House of the Silver Wedding. It records that one Theophilus had been performing his devotions in the shrine of Isis, and there prayed for the welfare of a certain woman Beroe. The goddess is mentioned simply by her familiar title χυρία. The house in general showed strong

No. 78; Lafaye 326, No. 215.Cp. Gerhard, *Arch. Zeit.* V (1847) 128; Panofka, *Bull. Inst.* 1847, 128; Cumont, *Panthea signa,* D.-S. IV, 314; Drexler, Roscher II, 546.

(1) Sogliano, *N. S.* 1906, 554 f.; Fornari, *Riv. storico-crit. di scienze teol.* V (1909) 463.

(2) Helbig Nos. 79, 80, 1094c, 1102; Lafaye, *Les divin. d'Alexandrie,* catalogue, Nos. 216, 217, 219-221. A list of the Pompeian houses exhibiting scenes from the Isis cult is given by Drexler, Roscher II, 399.

(3) *C. I. L.* IV, 1011, D. 6419 f., Vaglieri 1796: Cuspium Pansam aed. Popidius Natalis cliens cum Isiacis rog. IV, 787, D. 6420b: Cn. Heluium Sabinum aed. Isiaci uniuersi rog. Nissen, 355.

(4) Lafaye, *op. cit.* 145; Liebenam, *Zur Geschichte und Organisation des röm. Vereinwesens* 296.

indications of Egyptian influence. (1) A graffito in Latin is limited to the word Isis. (2)

MAGNA MATER.

The influence of Magna Mater is not so well attested as that of Isis and no shrine has yet been found. Some works of art, however, were unmistakably inspired by this cult. A wall painting brought to light in 1912 represents a halt in the sacred procession which carried an image of the goddess seated on a throne. The bearers stand close by the statue ready to resume their task. Among the followers of the goddess are recognized a priest and musicians, who utilize the instruments appropriate for their cult, - the flute, drum, and cymbals. (3) A mosaic found at Pompeii, the subject of which reappears in a wall painting of Stabiae, shows three persons, two men and a woman, who are using the same instruments. This mosaic, which is signed by Dioscorides of Samos, is generally considered as a scene from comedy, but Graillot suggests that it should be interpreted as a reproduction of the μητραγύρται or begging priests of Cybele. (4) Other works of art which may have derived their origin from this cult include a terra cotta statuette probably of Magna Mater seated upon a lion, and perhaps a few wall paintings, but those cited by Graillot are not certainly connected with this religion. (5)

Here must be mentioned a Greek inscription unearthed in the Capitol. It records the fact that C. Iulius Hephaestion, a priest of the Phrygian community, set up a Zeus Phrygius

(1) C. *I. L.* IV, 4189; Fornar', *op. cit.* 462; Mau, *Röm. Mitt.* VIII (1893) 57. Inscriptions parallel in form are found in Letronne, *Inscriptions de l'Égypte* II, 64, 76 etc.

(2) C. *I. L.* IV, 1581.

(3) Spano, *N. S.* 1912, 110.

(4) Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* 565, addition to p. 255. Reproduced by Bieber und Rodenwaldt, *Jahrb. des archäol. Ins.* XXVI (1911) 1, Fig. 1 and 5.

(5) The statuette is identified as Venus by Sogliano, *N. S.* 1908, 277; Graillot, *op. cit.* 568, addition to p. 433; Helbig 421, 558, 1558.

at a date expressed according to the Egyptian mode of computation and equivalent to 3 B. C. The reference is probably to Attis-Papas, who was identified with Zeus by the Greeks (1). The interpretation of this inscription has been troublesome. There is no other evidence for the presence of a contingent of Phrygians at Pompeii or for a cult of this deity, although some scholars have inferred from this record that both were present (2). Wolters calls attention to the impropriety of a dedication to an Oriental deity in a Capitol representing the old state religion of Rome, but if there was no shrine dedicated specifically to the god of the inscription and likewise no sanctuary of Magna Mater, the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter might seem to be the most suitable depository for an offering made to the Phrygian god (3). But the language of the inscription suggests Egypt rather than Italy, and the stone appears in fact to have been placed originally in a shrine at Alexandria, and only later to have reached Pompeii. How or why it was conveyed hither is a mystery (4).

THE GODS OF THE DAYS OF THE WEEK.

The gods who presided over the destinies of the various days of the week were recognized here, as is proved by notices referring to them singly and collectively. In a wall painting discovered in 1760 were represented the busts of the seven deities arranged in the following order: Saturn, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus. This is considered the oldest extant record referring to them and is dated by Mau at about 50 A.

(1) *I. G.* XIV, 701, *C. I. G.* 5866c, Vaglieri 1119. Cp. *C. I. L.* X, 796.

(2) Perdrizet, *Syriaca* in *Rev. arch.* XXXV (1899) 47; Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* 163 and *Zwei Religionsgeschichtliche Fragen* 104 (3). Höfer, *Papas*, Roscher, III, 1560; D'od. III, 58.

(3) Wolters, *Des Skulpturenschmuck des Apolloheiligtums* in *Sitzungsber, der kgl. bayer. Akad.* 1915, 30.

(4) Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae* II, 658; Gervasio, *Iscrizione de' Luccei* in *Mem. d. r. accad. ercol.* VII, 311; Graillot, *op. cit.* 568, corr.to 433 (2).

D. (1). A graffito, written in Greek at about the same time exhibits a complete roster of these gods beginning with Saturn; a second list discovered in 1901 gives the same gods in their Latin forms (2). Names of single days sometimes appear in market notices as the *dies Solis*, which is found in a record of 60 A. D. Another reference to the *dies Solis*, which on astronomical grounds suits the year 60, and to the title *imperator*, is interpreted by Sogliano as an allusion to the acclamations accorded to Claudius after victories won by his troops in that year (3).

JUDAISM.

The names Maria and Martha, which occur in wall inscriptions point to the presence of the Jews, a number of whom seem to have lived as slaves. Mau also cites the name M. Valerius Abinnerichus found upon an amphora for holding wine as a further evidence for the presence of members of this race (4). On an earthen vessel appears the name of a kind of fish soup which Pliny says was in use among the Jews (5).

(1)De Witte, *Les divinités, des sept jours de la semaine* in *Gaz. arch.* III (1877) 79; Lersch, *Der planetarische Götterkreis* in *Jahrb. des Vereins von Alterthumsf. im Rheinlande* IV (1844) 163; Humbert, *Dies* D. - S. II, 172; Maass, *Die Tagesgötter in Rom* 266; Dubois 163; Helbig 200, No. 1005. Helbig suspected that the other representations of gods found in the same room belonged to a cycle of divinities who were the patrons of the months. Here were noted Venus for April, Jupiter for July, Vulcan for September, Diana for November.

(2) *C. I. L.* IV, 5202, 6779.

(3) *C. I. L.* IV, 4182; Nerone Caesare Augusto, Cosso Lentudo Cossi fil. cos. VIII Idus Februar as dies Solis luna XIIIIIX, nun (dinae) Cumis V (Idus Februarias) nun (dinae) Pompeis. *C. I. L.* IV, 6838: IX K (al) Iunias imperator, dies fuit Solis. Sogliano, *N. S.* 1908, 55; Maass *op. cit.* 265; Mau, *Röm. Mitt.* VIII (1893) 31. In the National Museum at Naples lamps of unknown origin contain representations of the moon and planets. *C. I. L.* X, 8053 (81); Maass, *op. cit.* 234 (209).

(4) *C. I. L.* IV, 1507 (6), 5244, 5611-5621, 5630. Ferorelli, *Gli Ebrei nell'Italia meridionale* in *Arch. stor. Nap.* XXXII (1907) 251 (2) and *Gli Ebrei nell'It. merid. dall'età romana al secolo XVIII*, 3; Mau 17; Le Blant, *Comptes rendus de l'acad. des inscr.* 1885, 146; Sogliano, *Atene e Roma* XVII (1914) 369.

(5) *C. I. L.* IV, 2569. Gar (um) cast (imoniale); cp. *C. I. L.* IV, 2609; Plin. *nat.* XXXI, 95; Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte* (8) IV, 237; Marquardt-Mau, *Das Privatleben der Römer* 440 (8).

A wall painting seems to have for its theme the well known subject of the judgment of Solomon, but this interpretation is not certain (1). Likewise the words *Sodoma, Gomora* scratched upon the wall of a modest dwelling seem to be the work of a Jew. It was considered by Nissen to be a prophecy of the destruction of Pompeii, based upon its similarity to those cities in wickedness, but more probably it was written by a Jew who had taken refuge here when the city was threatened with destruction (2).

CHRISTIANITY.

There is a possibility that the graffito just discussed was the work of a Christian who had in mind one of the utterances of Jesus (3). No other sure evidence has been found to attest their presence. A graffito, which has now disappeared was at one time regarded as a reference to the Christians, but its reading was extremely doubtful. A lamp reported as discovered in the excavations of Pompeii contained what appeared to be a Christian monogram, but it is generally believed not to be authentic evidence for the presence of adherents of the Christian faith (4). At the same time there is no reason to deny the possibility of their presence; the words of Tertullian relative to the lack of Christians in Campania before the eruption of Vesuvius are an exaggeration (5).

(1) The so-called «Judgment of Solomon» is reproduced by Overbeck-Mau 583, Fig. 306; Mau 16, Fig. 6; Lucas, *Ein Märchen bei Petron* in *Festschrift für Hirschfeld* 258. Cp. Lumbroso, *Sul dipinto pompeiano in cui si è ravvisato il giudizio di Salomone* in *Atti dei Lincei* series 3, XI, (1882-3) 303; *C. I. L.* IV, 4976; Martha, *Manuel d'archéologie étrusque et romaine* 260; Sogliano, *N. S.* 1882, 323; De Rossi, *Bull. Inst.* 1883, 37; Samter, *Jahrb. des arch. Inst.* XIII (1898) 49; Löwy, *Rend. dei Lincei* 1897, 36 f.

(2) Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde* II, 766; Sogliano, *Di un luogo dei Libri Sibyllini* in *Atti Nap.* XVI (1891-3) 178-9; Herrlich, *Berl. phil. Wochens.* XXIII (1903) 1151; Harnack, *Die Mission u. Ausbr. d. Christentums* II, 74 (3).

(3) Nestle, *Eine Spur des Christentums in Pompeji?* in *Zeits. für die neutest. Wissens.* V (1904) 168.

(4) Mau-Kelsey 18; Mau 17; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* 346; Labanca, *Giornale d'Italia* Oct. 14, 1905; Harnack *op. cit.* Nachträge II, 312.

(5) Harnack *op. cit.* II, 346.

HERCULANEUM.

Between Neapolis and Pompeii a small section of the coast that is washed by the Bay of Naples was occupied by the territory of Herculaneum. For the most part it comprised the slope of Vesuvius which had lain dormant for centuries, — a charming location for the building of villas and adapted moreover for the cultivation of the vine. As a result of the eruptions of the volcano, the contour of the land has been materially modified, so that it no longer conforms to the outlines contained in the descriptions of the ancients. Sisenna the historian says that the town was built on a considerable hill adjacent to the sea between two small streams of water, and adds that it was of no great size (1). Existing remains demonstrate that the town had a regular arrangement of streets like its neighbor Neapolis. While it was the residence of many wealthy people, it was of little economic and commercial importance (2).

Herculaneum was not often mentioned by ancient writers. Submitting in succession to the predominance of Oscan, Etruscan, and Samnite elements, it became a member of the league headed by Nuceria. With that city it became subject to Rome in the year 307 B. C. and remained faithful until the period of the Social War, when the army of Papius Mutilus invaded the Sarnus valley. After its recapture by the Romans in 89 B. C. it was made a municipality and continued in the same condition with no particular history until the outbreak of volcanic activity in the first century A. D. After suffering severely from the earthquake shock of 63 it was entirely overwhelmed and submerged by debris from Vesuvius in 79. It remained buried beneath dense masses of ashes and lava from successive eruptions,

(1) Peter, *Hist. Rom. frag.* No. 53, p. 182.

(2) Nissen, *It. Landeskunde* II, 759; Barker, *Buried Herculaneum* 2 f.; Waldstein and Shoobridge, *Herculaneum* 59 f.

until in the eighteenth century a small portion of its area was excavated. Since that time but little progress has been made in uncovering it (1).

Herculaneum has left no coins, and the literary and epigraphical material bearing upon the question of religious conditions is especially scanty. Although temples were discovered in the course of investigations, little information has reached us on the subject. They were not excavated carefully, and when the works of art that they contained had been removed, they were straightway filled up again. As a result of the unsystematic excavation and the incomplete accounts, the exact number of temples discovered is uncertain. La Vega's plan of the excavations, which, however, was not based on a personal knowledge of all the points indicated, shows only three temples, but reports of the works then carried on demonstrate the existence of two others (2). On the other hand, it is probable that one of the three shrines in the first group had no real existence and its supposed presence was based upon an error. At any rate it is clear that the town must have possessed more than four or five temples. With one exception no knowledge is at hand of the divinities honored in the buildings which have been discovered. Names adopted by the excavators such as Temple of Theseus, Temple of Jupiter, and Temple of Demeter have no significance (3).

(1) For the city's history see Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 156; Beloch 218-219; Gall, *Herculaneum,* P.-W. VIII, 533; Waldstein and Shoobridge *op. cit.* chap. II; Barker, *op. cit.* chap. II; de Ruggiero, *Herculaneum,* Ruggiero III, 678.

(2) La Vega according to Waldstein was « the last and best of the eighteenth century excavators ». The plan of La Vega was first reproduced by Rosini, *Dissertationis isagogicae ad Herculanensium voluminum explanationem pars prima* 4; aftewards by De Iorio, *Notizie sugli scavi di Ercolano* Pl. I; Ruggiero, *Storia degli scavi di Ercolano* Pl. II; Waldstein and Shoobridge *op. cit.* 11; Mau 532. Cp. the plan of Dall'Osso in *Nuova Antologia* ser. 131 (1906) I, 109 and in Barker, *op. cit.* 23.

(3) Besides the temple of Magna Mater, which will be noticed later, one of the shrines is known in some detail. See Weber's report for Sept. 22, 1759 in Ruggiero, *Scavi di Ercolano* 289. Cp. Ruggiero, *op. cit.* XL; Waldstein and Shoobridge 74-76; Mau 544.

JUPITER.

The evidence for a cult of Jupiter, which without doubt flourished here, is uncertain, and rests upon two inscriptions, which although sometimes attributed to this town, were assigned by Mommsen to Pompeii. This uncertainty about the place of discovery is especially unfortunate because one of them refers to the building or repairing of a temple. The other is a simple dedication (1).

HERCULES.

The name of the city was naturally always associated by the ancient writers with Hercules, and it was called now *Herculea urbs*, now *Herculanense oppidum* (2). So the poet Martial, alluding to the havoc wrought by Vesuvius speaks of the town as « the place called by Hercules' name », and Statius implies that the god should have saved it from ruin (3). Here a myth was localized the hero of which was Hercules. According to this tale he sacrificed in the vicinity tithes of the booty that he had acquired on his Spanish expedition, and founded a village on the site where his army had been bivouacing; then he continued on his way to Sicily (4). Actual evidence for his worship is confined to a mutilated dedication inscribed upon a bronze pig, which has not preserved the name of the dedicator. According to eighteenth century reports it was found in company with a bronze image of Hercules and various utensils designed for the purpose of sacrifice (5).

The older scholars speak commonly of a temple of this god discovered during the course of the excavations, and such a building is marked on the plans of both La Vega and Dal-

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 925; 926. Quoted on p. 224 (2).

(2) Ov. *met.* XV, 711; Sen. *nat.* VI, 1; 2.

(3) Mart. IV, 44, 6. Hic locus Herculeo nomine clarus erat. Stat. *sil.* V, 3, 164: Neglectaque tellus Alcidae.

(4) Dion. Hal. 1, 44.

(5) C. *I. L.* X, 1405: Her(culi) uoe(=uotum?) m. 1, Gerhard-Panofka, *Neapels antike Bildwerke* p. 178; Rüsch, *Guida del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* 355, No. 1493; Waldstein and Shoobridge 289. Reproduced by Pirol: et Piranesi, *Antiquités d'Herculanum* IV, 44.

l'Osso as standing near the theater. Moreover, the sacrificial implements and other objects mentioned above may well have been found in such a place (1). Yet the investigators, who in those days were prone to attach the name of temple to any public building, sometimes themselves express doubts about the identity of the ruin with which they are dealing. As pointed out by Miss Barker, it is not unlikely that the excavators confused the supposed temple with parts of the « basilica » and the theater (2). Hence there is ample reason to doubt the discovery of a public temple of Hercules, but none whatever to disbelieve in its existence. Besides the small bronze image mentioned above, two mutilated statues of this god and a small statuette were unearthed in the eighteenth century excavations (3).

VENUS.

Venus, who was so popular at Pompeii, had a following also at Herculaneum, but there is no evidence for believing that she was conceived with the peculiar attributes which gave so much individuality to the Pompeian goddess. The age of the cult is attested by the fact that she is mentioned in an Oscan inscription as Herentas, the old Italic nature goddess (4). It is inscribed upon a marble table designed to receive offerings, which was found probably in the theater along with a small marble Venus and a bronze statuette of Hercules. The dedication was made to the goddess with the epithet Erycina, — an indication that the cult had been modified by the influence of the Sicilian divinity. It was the work of the *meddix tuticus*, the supreme magistrate of the community (5). The terms *centuria Veneria* and *centuria Concordia* were in use for marking divisions of the freedmen (6).

(1) De Venuti, *Delle antichità d'Ercolano* (ed. of 1748) 133; (ed. of. (1749) 97; report of Alcubierre in Ruggiero, *op. cit.* 44.

(2) Barker, *Buried Herculaneum* 65-69.

(3) Barker, *op. cit.* 36, 44, 64.

(4) Wissowa 290 and *Herentatis*, Roscher I, 2298.

(5) Buck, No. 41 = Conway 87 = von Planta 117.

(6) C. *I. L.* X, 1403. Walzing, *Les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains* I, 360 (5); de Ruggiero, *Herculaneum* Ruggiero III, 678; Liebenam, *Zur Geschichte und Organisation des röm. Vereinwesens* 294.

HYGIA.

A votive statue offered to Hygia by a woman named Julia is said to have been due to a dream or a sinister omen. There is no reason for believing that the goddess was a manifestation of Isis (1). In fact she is mentioned again as Salus on a small altar discovered in 1872 (2).

ROMAN CULTS, GENIUS.

The pedestal of a little image of Fortuna contains an inscription which is somewhat uncertain because of its conciseness and the employment of abbreviations. It bears the name of Philemo, an actor of the second parts, and as supplemented by Mommsen records the offering made by the *magistri* of some *collegium* to the Genius of that body. This supplement, alluding to an organization of the actors is preferable to that adopted by Beloch, who thought of a *Genius civitatis* (3). Another Genius the object of private devotions, appears in a wall painting discovered in 1749. He is represented by a serpent twined around an altar and feeding upon an offering; at one side is a naked youth identified by Zangemeister as Harpocrates, at the other is an inscription commemorating the Genius of a mountain (4). The picture was earlier identified by Panofka in connection with the cult of Aesculapius, who according to this interpretation was represented by the serpent; the youth was regarded as Acesius, the son of Aesculapius and like him a healing divinity (5). It seems to have been made in payment of a vow.

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 929: Julia Hygia ex uisu. Barker, *op. cit.* 175.

(2) C. *I. L.* X, 8167: Saluti sacrum.

(3) C. *I. L.* X, 1404=Vaglieri 1067: Philemonis secu(ndarum) mag(istri) Gen(io) c(ollegii). Cp. X, 814; Beloch 225.

(4) C. *I. L.* IV, 1176: Genius huius loci montis, Piroli et Piranesi, *Antiquités d'Herculanum* peintures I, No. 38; Baumeister *Denkmäler* 593; Helbig, *Wandgemälde,* No. 81.; Lafaye, *Les divinités d'Alexandrie hors de l'Égypte* 330, No. 224; Birt, *Genius* Roscher I, 1624; *Museo Borbonico* IX, 52.

(5) Panofka, *Asklepios und die Asklepiaden* in *Abhand. der kgl. Akad, der Wiss. zu Berlin* 1845, 286; Pl. II, 2.

THE CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

The cult of Augustus and his successors is attested by the presence of Augustales. The most prominent person who held the position was apparently a wealthy freedman L. Mammius Maximus, who flourished in the reign of Claudius. This individual acted as the community's benefactor by adorning the town with statues, and either he or one of his family constructed a *macellum*. He was especially zealous in showing his regard toward all the members of the Imperial family. By such acts he so won the esteem of his fellow-citizens that they raised a contribution for a bronze statue in his honor to be set up in the theater (1). Another Augustalis was the freedman M. Claudius Hymenaeus, who seems to appear again in a long list of names attached to the wall of the theater. An indication for his date is afforded by the fact that his patron held public office under Tiberius (2). A badly damaged inscription refers apparently to the donation of a building to the organization of Augustales as a whole (3).

Dedications to three of the *diui* were discovered at Herculaneum. Diuus Iulius was twice honored, once by the people as a whole and once by the Augustales. Diuus Augustus received recognition at the hands of the same association, while Livia, who was deified under Claudius, appears in an inscription set up for the wealthy Augustalis Mammius Maximus mentioned above. In each case the inscriptions belonged to statues (4).

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 1452=D. 6352=Vaglieri 2197: L. Mammio Maximo Augustali municipes et incolae aere conlato. Cp. D. 123, 150, 177, 5581 and *C. I. L.* X, 1418. The statue containing the above inscription is reproduced in the *Real Museo di Napoli* VI, Pl. 41, where the commentator asserts that he was of noble birth, a conclusion based in part upon the fact that he belonged to the Augustales. Barker *op. cit.* 187 erroneously describes him as a « priest of Augustus », for which of course another designation than Augustalis would be required.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1448=D. 6353=Vaglieri 2196: M. Claudio Marcelli Aesernini lib. Hymenaeo Augustali. This man's former master is cited by Tac. *ann.* III, 11; XI, 6.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1462: .....d.] d. locum ab inchoato..... cum tectoris p. p. Augustalibus datum. The inscription itself was not found but its impression. Alcubierre's report in Ruggiero *Scavi di Ercolano* 23.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 1410-1413.

No evidence regarding the priests or the details of the cult of the Emperors has come down to us.

ORIENTAL CULTS, ISIS.

As Isis worship was prominent at Puteoli and Pompeii at the beginning of the first century B. C., so it is probable that there was a shrine here dating from approximately the same period. But the actual evidence for the cult in this community is less than in the other towns of this region. It consists of a number of small objects and accessories of the worship and of wall paintings portraying either a god or some scene connected with the ceremonies. Although the latter testify to the artistic rather than to the religious notions prevalent in the community, they nevertheless show a wide spread familiarity with the religious rites which they depict.

One of the wall paintings has been interpreted as a representation of the afternoon service which was held daily in connection with the worship of the Egyptian gods. On the top of the steps leading to the temple stand two priests, one of whom holds a vessel of holy water while the others are shaking *sistra*. Below is an altar where a priest attends to the fire and two rows of priests and believers combined are drawn up in two rows to watch the ceremony (1). Another painting has been regarded as an allusion to one of the features of the autumn festival or as the representation of the daily morning service (2). Small bronze figures portray Isis-Fortuna and Harpocrates. Among the instruments used in the ritual of the Egyptian gods were found examples of the *sistrum* and the *crotalum* and also a bronze vase covered with hieroglyphics (3).

(1) Helbig 221, No. 1111; Lafaye *op. cit.* 329, No. 223; Piroli et Piranesi II, Pl. 31; Roux et Barré, *Herculanum et Pompéi recueil général* II, Pl. 68; Mau 182 f.; Mau-Kelsey 176 f.; *Comptes rendus de l'acad. des inscr.* 1896, Pl. VIII.

(2) Helbig 222, No. 1112; Lafaye 328, No. 222; Piroli et Piranesi II, Pl. 30; Roux et Barré II, Pl. 69; Mau 183. Cp. Helbig, Nos. 1094, 1104=Lafaye, Nos. 225, 226. A full list of paitings is given by Drexler, *Isis*, Roscher II, 399-400.

(3) Lafaye, *op. cit.* catalogue Nos. 52, 69, 70 with references to the books in which they are reproduced; Drexler 400; Barker 175.

For the presence of a temple itself there is no particular evidence; indeed it is never mentioned. Since, therefore, its existence might be questioned, it is hazardous to attempt with Thédenat to determine a date for it, and to speak of it as something assured (1). Miss Barker likewise tries to associate a temple with the cult by assuming that the one destined for the service of Magna Mater was really a sanctuary of Isis. This assumption is based on the supposed confusion between the two goddesses. But while these had their points of resemblance and lived on intimate terms with each other, it is more difficult to conceive of a real confusion (2). As time went on the strength and influence of Magna Mater increased daily and tended to absorb the activities of less important goddesses. But this phenomenon was comparatively late and occurred in fact after the destruction of Herculaneum, when there was a notable tendency toward syncretism (3). Yet even then we may be sure that Isis was in no danger of being submerged; under the Republic and during the first years of the Empire such a possibility was extremely remote (4). It is in truth inconceivable that the temple at Herculaneum, designated in an official inscription as belonging to the « Mother of the gods » should have been designed primarily for the use of Isis. Though this appellation is employed regularly for Magna Mater, it is not adopted for Isis, who is seldom called Isis Mater but frequently Isis Regina (5). The latter, however, may have been worshipped in some portion of the shrine.

MAGNA MATER.

The temple in which the worship of Magna Mater was maintained was identified by means of an inscription found on

(1) Tédenat, *Pompéi vie publique* 70.

(2) A temple at Brundisium was consecrated to Magna Mater, Dea Syria and Isis. *C. I. L.* IX, 6099.

(3) Cp. the statue described by Lafaye 276, No. 40 as a representation of Isis identified with Cybele.

(4) Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* 189; Corcia, *Di una votiva statuetta egizia* in *Atti Nap.* II (1866) 75 f.

(5) Graillot, *op. cit.* 189 (3); Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae* III, p. 533 index; Drexler, *op. cit.* 512, 513; Vaglieri *Sylloge epig.* II, p. 660 index.

the site. This record states that the building had collapsed as a result of the earthquake of 63 A. D., and was thereafter restored by the aid of the Emperor Vespasian before the middle of 76 (1). It was a very large building standing in the quarter of the theater and the « basilica », in the very center of public life (2). A peculiarity of construction appears in the circumstance that it had apparently two stories. The ceiling of the lower one was in the form of a barrel vault richly decorated with a multitude of green, red and yellow stars upon a white background. Among the small objects found in the neighborhood of the shrine were statuettes of Venus, Mercury, Hercules and Isis (3). Magna Mater is depicted on a terra cotta lamp in the form of a seated figure flanked by lions. In the background appear on the one side Attis and on the other a pine tree from which cymbals are suspended (4). Every thing points to a prosperous cult which had become thoroughly established for a considerable time. The temple was one of the leading shrines of the city; for this reason as well as from the fact that Magna Mater was highly honored in his birth place Reate, Vespasian selected this sanctuary for an early restoration (5).

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 1406=Vaglieri 1287. Imp. Caesar Vespasianus Aug. pontif. max. trib. pot. VII, imp. XVII, p. p. cos. VII, design. VIII templum Matris deum terrae motu conlapsum restituit. Spinazzola, *Atti Nap.* XXII (1902) 135 (3) strangely asserts that this inscription was found at Puteoli.

(2) Graillot 433 states that the temple stood in the quarter of the « basilica » and the Forum, but these terms seem both to have been used to explain the same building. That the central street itself served as a substitute for the Forum is refuted by Waldstein 67, 72.

(3) Waldstein and Shoobridge 72; Ruggiero, *Scavi di Ercolano* XXXVIII; Mau 543.

(4) Piroli et Piranesi, *Antiquités d'Herculanum* (ed. 1805) VI, Pl. VI, No. 4.

(5) Sil. VIII, 415; Graillot 148.

CHAPTER VI.

NUCERIA, STABIAE, SURRENTUM, CAPREAE.

In the valley of the River Sarnus, which with the mountainous district between it and the sea forms the southeastern corner of the Campanian territory, were situated in ancient times three cities Pompeii, Stabiae, and Nuceria. The two former were quite near the coast, occuying the same relative position with regard to the third city farther in the interior, which was situated about twelve Roman miles distant from both. Stabiae, which soon lost its existence as a separate municipality, was located not far from the modern town called Castellamare di Stabia, which by its official designation still shows its relation to its ancient ancestor. The ground here is full of mineral springs, — a circumstance that caused it to become a health resort in Roman times and to be the site of many villas.

Nuceria, which was always more important than Stabiae, stood a little to the west of the present town of Nocera in a very important spot, because in this vicinity was the junction of a series of main lines of communication. Here the great highway connecting Capua and Rhegium was intersected by roads from the coast cities Neapolis, Stabiae, and Salernum. As a result of its favorable location and its liberal treatment at the hands of the Romans, it remained during the later Republic the metropolis of southeastern Campania (1).

When Nuceria and Stabiae first present themselves in history in the fifth century B. C., they are peopled by a Samnite population. Even then Nuceria was the leading city of the Sarnus valley and the head of an Oscan confederacy embracing

(1) Beloch 246 f.; Nissen, *It. Landeskunde* II, 766; Cosenza, *Stabia* 91 f.

not only Stabiae but also the kindred cities of Surrentum, Pompeii and Herculaneum. As a result, these various places are without an individual history of their own in the early times; likewise none of the dependent members of the league attempted to coin money.

During the period of the Samnite wars Nuceria was at first neutral, then at variance with Rome, but was finally obliged to surrender to Quintus Fabius (308 B. C.). At the capitulation however, the city obtained very favorable terms on a line with those given to the neighboring Greek cities, and ever after remained loyal to the Romans. Its inhabitants resisted Hannibal until constrained by hunger to capitulate in 216 B. C., and were then forced to seek new homes until the restoration of peace. The Social War marked the end of the relations between Nuceria and its tributaries along the coast, as the latter declined to continue the policy of friendliness toward Rome. In the ensuing struggle Stabiae was destroyed (89 B. C.); the other members of the confederation became entirely independent of Nuceria, but this city as a compensation received the land formerly belonging to Stabiae and continued to be a flourishing community.

Its prosperity was somewhat marred by the attacks of the gladiators in the Servile War, and after the battle of Philippi the triumvirs appropriated tracts of land for their veterans. The colony, called Nuceria Constantia, received other settlers of the same class under Nero (57 A. D.). Nuceria itself suffered little from the earthquakes of the first century A. D., but the country around Stabiae was badly damaged and here the elder Pliny was killed. As a result when the village was rebuilt, it was located on the sea, where now stands Castellamare. At the beginning of the Middle Ages a battle took place here between the Goths and the Byzantines (533 A. D.) (1).

APOLLO.

The male head wearing a wreath of laurel which appears on certain bronze coins of Nuceria, was identified by early

(1) Beloch 239-243; Mommsenn, *C. I. L.* X, p. 124; Cosenza, *Stabia* 116 f.; De Petra, *I porti antichi dell'Italia meridionale* 328.

numismatists as a likeness of Apollo, but the more recent authorities regard this identification as dubious (1). Even though the appearance of Apollo is admitted, it may be explained as an imitation of the coinage of Neapolis (2). Yet, as the cult of this god had become well established generally along the Campanian coast, it doubtless possessed a shrine here.

DIOSCURI.

The figure of a youthful horseman, probably one of the Twin Brethren, is regularly found upon the obverse of silver coins, and that of two galloping horsemen appears sometimes upon money minted in bronze. The identification of these figures however, as representations of the Dioscuri is no longer considered as altogether certain, and there is no other evidence to prove the existence of a cult (3).

JUNO.

Juno is known to have had a temple outside the walls surrounded by a sacred grove; from it an omen was reported when the Cimbri were invading Italy. The top of an elm tree had been cut off and laid upon an altar in the *temenos*, when suddenly it gave signs of life, a token — as was proved by the result — of a revival in the fortunes of the Roman people (4). This evidence shows that the shrine was prominent at the end of the second century B. C. According to Otto it was a Roman foundation erected after the conquest of Nuceria by the Romans. He sees an evidence for this opinion in the omen itself,

(1) L. Sambon, *Monn. de la presq'ile italique* 165; A. Sambon *Les monn. ant. de l'It.* 384, No. 1014, 1015; Head 41.

(2) Beloch 245.

(3) L. Sambon 165; A. Sambon 378, 381-384; Head 41; Helbig, *Die Castores* in *Hermes* XL (1905) 103; Garrucci 97; Dubois 199 (2); Albert, *Le Culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie* 140, No. 90.

(4) Plin. *nat.* XVI, 132: Factum hoc populi Romani Quiritibus ostentum Cimbricis bellis Nuceriae in luco Iunonis ulmo, postquam etiam cacumen amputatum erat, quoniam in aram ipsam procumbebat, restituta sponte ita ut protinus floreret, a quo deinde tempore maiestas populi Romani resurrexit quae ante uastata cladibus fuerat. Roscher, *Juno Roscher* II, 605.

which seems to show a sympathy on the part of the goddess for Rome her place of origin (1). But while Roman influence undoubtedly existed here as in other places during the period of alliance, we may question whether it was as yet strong enough to cause the adoption of many cults. We would also expect these to be introduced into the town itself, if they represented an important innovation. But this sanctuary stood outside the town, and probably represented an old cult like that of Diana near Capua. The importance of the omen, which caused it to be especially noted and observed, depended largely on the fact that it came from a shrine of venerable antiquity.

This is the only reference to the cult of Juno at Nuceria, though some scholars have seen an allusion to the divinity of this place in the phrase *Iuno Sarrana* employed by Silius (2). This view first appears in an article by Minervini, who used it to prove the existence of a place called Sarro, peopled by the Sarrastes, an ancient race who are said once to have dwelt in these parts (3). Later Beloch and recently Cosenza state as a fact that Juno Sarrana was worshipped at Nuceria (4). But whatever truth there may be in the report that the Sarrastes once lived here, the term *Sarrana* of this passage has no reference to these people or to this locality. It means pertaining to Sarra, a name for the city of Tyre, and is applied not only to the Tyrians but to the Carthaginians, a use that is regular in Silius (5). The phrase *Sarrana Juno* occurs in an invocation of gods made by Regulus as security for a return to imprisonment

(1) Otto, *Iuno* in *Philologus* LXIV (1905) 173.

(2) Sil. VI, 466-469:

> Tum palmas simul attollens ac lumina caelo:
> iustitiae rectique dator, qui cuncta gubernas,
> nec leuior mihi diua Fides Sarranaque Iuno,
> quos reditus testes iurata mente uocaui.....

(3) Minervini, *Intorno ad alcuni dolii di terracotta rinvenuti vicino il Sarno* in *Bull. Nap.* n. s. VII (1858) 82-83.

(4) Beloch 244; Cosenza, *Stabia* 164.

(5) See *Sarra* in the *Lexicon* of Lewis and Short. The adjective *Sarranus* occurs ten times in Silius always with this meaning; among them is the phrase *Sarrana numina* referring to the introduction of Carthaginian deities into Italy and meaning especially the cult of Anna identified as Dido's sister. Full list in the index to Bauer's Silius Italicus p. 240.

at Carthage; the poet adopts it because of Juno's pro-Carthaginian sympathies and because it makes an appropriate deity for his hero to swear by. On the other hand it would be wholly unnatural to represent Regulus as swearing by the local divinity of a Campanian provincial town never of first rate importance. Although this shrine was sufficiently prominent to cause its prodigies to be noted by the Romans at the end of the second century B. C., it could not be associated with the Romans in the epoch of Regulus. Juno Sarrana is plainly a Carthaginian goddess, the celebrated female deity who was usually identified with Juno but sometimes with other divinities (1).

The temple has been located between the towns of Nocera and Pagani at a place called *Campodara* (Arae Campus?), where remains were found, but this identification is extremely dubious (2).

SARNUS AND EPIDIUS.

A local hero Sarnus seems to have been associated with the river bearing that name and to have been worshipped like the river god Sebethus at Neapolis. His cult, however, was more important than that of the Neapolitan deity. His name appears in the title *Colonia Sarnensis Mileu,* which was one of the settlements made by P. Sittius of Nuceria near Cirta in Numidia under the authority of Julius Caesar. As Venus and Minerva, who gave their names to other colonies of the same Sitius, were the leading deities respectively at Pompeii and Surrentum, so Sarnus must be considered as the tutelary divinity of Nuceria (3). Millingen believed that this hero was represented on the obverse of the silver coins of Nuceria, where a young man's head is portrayed with flowing hair and the horns of a ram (4).

(1) Andollent, *Carthage romaine* 371 (2) does not include this passage in his citations from the poets who identify the tutelary goddess of Carthage with Juno.

(2) Orlando, *Storia di Nocera de' Pagani,* 1, 167.

(3) Wilmanns, *C. I. L.* VIII, pp. 618, 701.

(4) Millingen, *Considerations sur la numismatique de l'ancienne Italie* 198. Cp. Waser, *Flussgötter,* P.-W. VI, 2810; Höfer, *Sarnus,* Roscher IV, 387.

Some numismatists on the other hand have associated this figure with that of another local divinity, the hero Epidius, who was connected with the same river, and very likely was not always distinguished from the real river god Sarnus because of the similarity of their attributes (1). According to a legend transmitted by Suetonius a certain Epidius, an ancestor of the Augustan rhetorician of that name, tumbled into the waters of the Sarnus, showed himself momentarily with the addition of a pair of horns, and then disappeared forever. As a result of this accident, a new god was added to the local divinities by the superstitious populace (2). The circumstance that he showed himself with horns indicates according to Wissowa a Greek origin for this tale (3). It has been suggested, although without any particular proof, that a colossal equestrian statue of the hero stood in the city and that this was known popularly as « the big horse ». This supposition is intended to explain the allusion to such a horse set up by a prominent citizien, M. Virtius Ceraunus, a municipal official (4).

DIONYSUS.

The head of the young man with ram's horns which has been discussed in the preceding paragraphs has likewise been regarded as a likeness of the African Dionysus, who may be represented on the coinage of Cyrene. But the horned figure on the money of the African city may be disposed of by other interpretations (5).

(1) Avellino, *Num. anecd.* 22; Minervini, *Osservazioni* 45; Cavedoni, *Bull. Inst.* 1839, 138; Garrucci 96. A summary of the different interpretations of this figure is given by A. Sambon 1, 378.

(2) Suet. 4, 6. The letters *epid* in an inscription found at Pompeii can scarcely refer to this hero. Conway, *Italic Dialects* 1, p. 66.

(3) Wissowa, *Gesam. Abhandl.* 135 (1). Cp. Peter, *Epidius*, Roscher 1, 1282; Münzer, *Epidius* (1), P.-W. VI, 58.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 1081 = D. 6446; Cavedoni, *Bull. Inst.* 1840, 142.

(5) A. Sambon 379; Thrämer, *Dionysos in der Kunst*, Roscher 1, 51; Head 865 considers that the figure on the coins of Cyrene was intended to represent Aristaeus.

ROMAN CULTS.

Almost no information has reached us about the specifically Roman cults, which must have developed during the Empire. The Augustales, composed chiefly or wholly of freedmen, flourished, but aside from a few names little is known about their activities (1). The most important was a certain Caesius (?) Daphnus, who held the same office in another town, the name of which has been lost. He aided the community by a restoration of the temple of the Genius at Stabiae (2). A mutilated inscription, cited by Cosenza as unpublished, apparently contained the names of two menbers of this organization (3). A gladiatorial notice advertising games to be held at Nuceria Constantia in honor of the divinity of one of the Emperors contains the mention of a flamen connected with the Imperial cult who provided the amusements offered at this time (4). This individual seems also to have filled the post of Augustalis; he is dated by Mau and Zangemeister as not later than the reign of Tiberius.

CHRISTIANITY.

The Martyrology to which the name of Jerome has been attached mentions three martyrs belonging to this community, — Priscian, Felix and Constantia. The first named martyr has been identified with the bishop of Nuceria to whom reference is made by Paulinus of Nola (5). Felix and Constantia have

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 452: N. Ahius Successus Augustalis Nuceriae Marciae Meroe coiugi et sibi cum qua uixit etc.; X, 1083; T. Cellio T. l. Ingen August(alis) optimo patrono T. Gellius T. l. Ingen.....; X, 1084: M. Genicius Menecrates Aug. sibi et Acciae Maximae ux, et suis.

(2) X, 772, D. 5416. As the name of the missing town Nola is sometimes supplied, but also Capua, Caudium, Cumae, Stabiae, Beloch admits the possibility of any supplement save the last, *Arch. stor. nap.* II (1877) 293.

(3) Cosenza, *Raccolta di antichità stabiane* in *Rend. Nap.* XIV (1900) 146.

(4) C. *I. L.* IV, 3882 and the annotation of Zangemeister and Mau.

(5) Pseudo-Jerome, *Martyrologium uetus* Sept. 16, 20; Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina* XIX, 515:

> Forte sacrata dies inluxerat illa beati
> natalem Prisci referens, quem et Nola celebrat
> quamuis ille alia Nucerinus episcopus urbe
> sederit. Lanzoni, *Le origini del cristianesimo nella Campania romana* in *Riv. storico-crit. delle scienze teol.* VI (1910) 281.

been assigned to the reign of Nero, but the references to saints who suffered under Nero are suspicious, and their assignment to this period was probably arbitrary (1). The city was apparently an episcopal see before the reign of Diocletian.

STABIAE.

When Stabiae was captured by Sulla during the Social War, its existence as an autonomous municipality was brought to an end, and its territory was placed under the jurisdiction of Nuceria (2). As a tributary district, it was doubtless treated as a *pagus* and administered by *magistri*, who after the institution of the cult of Augustus devoted themselves mostly to his service (3). One of these officials is mentioned in an inscription discovered on the front of a small Lararium, where stood a bust of the Empress Livia. The inscription was due to a freedman Antheros Heracleo, who followed the profession of an actor; it records a dedication to the Lares and household gods (4).

GENIUS.

After Stabiarum had ceased to have a separate municipal existence, its temples were maintained as before, but were now subject to the regulations of the decurions of Nuceria. Only one of these cults, that of the Genius Stabiae, is definitely established by the testimony of epigraphical evidence. It was housed in a temple which under the Empire needed restoration, and was rebuilt with the means of a rich Augustalis of Nuceria, who has been cited above (5). It is assumed by Beloch that the first temple was a survival from the Oscan period and dated before the time of Sulla. Cosenza on the contrary denies that the sanctuary dated as far back as the days of Samnite suprem-

(1) Lanzoni, *loc. cit.*; Orlando, *Storia di Nocera de' Pagani* 219 f. Cp. 210 f.

(2) Beloch 248; Cosenza, *Stabia* 159 f.

(3) Cp. p. 207.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 773, Vaglieri 1132: Anteros l, Heracleo summar(um), mag(ister) Larib. et famil. d.d.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 772, D. 5416:....Aesius Daphnus Augustal. Nuceriae et..... aedem Geni Stabiar. delapsis marmoribus uexata aede restituit.

acy; he considers that the temple was more recent, and was restored only after the earthquake of 63 (1). The latter part of this supposition, that the rebuilding of the temple falls in the period 63-79 A. D. is doubtless true and is borne out by the character of the inscription. But it is more difficult to believe that a community without any organic existence would erect a temple to its own Genius. Such a sanctuary suits better the semi-independent municipality before the Social War, which was nominally in alliance with Rome and familiar with the Roman conception of the tutelary Genius of the city-state.

Though the exact location of the shrine is unknown, it appears to have stood a short distance east of the present town of Castellamare on the road to Nocera. Here remains of walls and architectural fragments were discovered, but movable objects of value had been carried away before the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 (2). The plan of the temple inserted in Rosini's work entitled *Dissertatio isagogica* can not, as Cosenza points out, have reference to the sanctuary of the Genius, because the reports of the excavations in this region indicate that it was not completely unearthed (3).

HERCULES.

The older antiquarians who treated the archeology of Stabiae claimed without warrant that the city derived its name from the myth of Hercules, who stopped here on his return from Spain and left his ships at anchor on the coast (4). It is true that the name of this god was attached to some point in this vicinity that was called Petra Herculis. Some antiquarians supposed that this was situated beyond Monte S. Angelo toward

(1) Beloch 249; Cosenza, *Stabia* 135 f. The date of this earthquake is discussed by Chabert, *Mélanges Boissier* 115.

(2) In the fondo Pellicano west of the church of the Madonna delle grazie. Cp. Cosenza 136-139.

(3) Rosini, *Dissertatio isagogica ad Herculanensium uoluminum explanationem* pars prima 88 and Pl. 18; Ruggiero, *Scavi di Stabia* 186; Cosenza 137.

(4) Capaccio, *Historia Neapolitana* II, 105; Corcia, *Storia delle due Sicilie* II, 139.

Surrentum, where stands the modern town Vico Equense (1). But it is generally thought that it should be identified with certain rocks at the mouth of the Sarnus to which the name Revigliano has been applied (2). In the sixteenth century a small bronze image of the god was found here, but as Beloch justly observed, this is a very slight evidence on which to base an identification. Milante devotes the greater part of a page to prove the existence of a temple here, but this matter is mostly irrelevant (3). Cosenza rightly rejects the theories of the antiquarians just mentioned, but he admits too readily the existence of a temple of Hercules at Stabiae, for which there is no proof (4).

PLUTO.

Near Castellamare at the foot of the hill called Varano is an oblong cavern with two entrances hewn in the rock near which various remains of small objects were found. Milante compared it to the oracle of Trophonius, which Pausanias describes as existent at Lebadea in Boeotia, and it was probably consecrated to Pluto or some other chthonic deity. With the advent of Christianity it retained its character of sanctity, but was assigned to a new master; henceforth St. Blasius was the guardian of the place. The spot is called *Carmiano*, an appellation which is generally derived from the word *carmina*, applied to the ancient responses of the oracle (5).

UNCERTAIN CULTS.

The evidence cited for other cults is not convincing. An altar of white marble exhibiting the figure of a deer's head

(1) Plin. *nat.* XXXII, 17: In Stabiano Campaniae ad Herclis Petram melanuri panem abiectum in mare rapiunt, iidem ad nullum cibum in quo hamus sit accedunt. Pelegrino, *Discorsi* I, 348; Parascandolo, *Lettera sull'antiquità della città d'Equa* 91.

(2) Capasso, *Topogr. storico-arch. della penisola sorrentina* 8; 31 f.

(3) Beloch 251; Milante, *De Stabiis, Stabiana ecclesia et episcopis eius* 8.

(4) Cosenza 120 (2), 125 (1). Cp. 164 and Corcia, *op. cit.* II, 429.

(5) Milante, *op. cit.* 13 with a picture of the grotto Pl. IF; Capasso 2; Beloch 251; Trede, *Das Heidentum in der röm. Kirche* I, 110.

encircled by a crown composed of various fruits has been used as testimony for the evistence of a cult and temple of Diana (1). Cosenza, following the lead of earlier antiquarians, argues for the worship of Neptune whose accepted sacrifice was a horse. Supposed evidence for cults of Ceres and Janus is valueless (2).

ORIENTAL CULTS.

No evidence has been found for the presence of the various pagan religions of the Orient save some references to Isis worship which appear in wall decorations. They consist of a bearded priest wearing a long robe and a priestess clad in similar garments, whose hands support a peculiar vessel shaped like the beak of a bird (3). There is no direct testimony for the presence of a Christian community. On the site of the Cathedral of Castellamare, however, Christian epitaphs were discovered in 1878, which De Rossi assigned to the age of Constantine or earlier (4).

(1) Milante 8; Capasso 21.

(2) Cosenza 165; Capasso 20, 27; Milante 9, 12. The inscription used by Milante to prove a cult of Ceres belongs elsewhere.

(3) Helbig, *Wandgemälde der von Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* Nos. 1908 ,1101; *Museo Borbonico* X, Pl. 55, No. 2; Cosenza 188 No. 42; Lafaye, *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie* 330, Nos. 227-28.

(4) De Rossi, *Bull. arch. crist.* 1879, 118 f.; Lanzoni, *op. cit.* 285.

SURRENTUM.

Surrentum, the modern Sorrento, was located on the northern shore of the mountainous peninsula that juts out from the southern part of the Campanian coast, thus separating the Bay of Naples from the Bay of Salerno. Its territory, which was of no great extent, was divided from the Sarnus valley by the range of mountains, which is known today as Monte S. Angelo; on the southeast its borders touched the land of Salernum. It was a district of picturesque scenery, which nevertheless produced important crops of olives and wine. In the days of the Empire the region was covered with villas, and the town thrived by reason of the volume of commerce which passed through its port *en route* for Capreae. As the city from its inaccessible position was little liable to attack, it enjoys the rare distinction of never having been destroyed. Consequently the arrangement of the streets has probably never been materially altered, and it may be taken for granted that the ancient town was systematically laid out (1).

Legends associate this neighborhood with Ulysses and the Sirens, and the place was long a center of Greek influence, - a circumstance pointing to a colonization of which no record has been preserved. In the fifth century B. C. it appears under the domination of the Samnites, probably as one of the league which acknowledged Nuceria as its head. At the close of the Social War it may have received a colony composed of Sulla's veterans. During the early Empire it is scarcely mentioned save in connection with the banishment of Agrippina, and after the reign of Tiberius it drops out of history entirely till the end of the Empire (2).

The gods who were honored here are attested almost

(1) Beloch 258, 264; Nissen, *It. Landesk.* II, 767.

(2) Beloch 252-254, 434; Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 76; Pais, *Ancient Italy* 222 f.; *Ricerche stor. e geog.* 282.

solely by literary evidence, as the epigraphical material from this vicinity is very scanty. Furthermore no coins of Surrentum have been found; at one time a number of numismatists thought that the coinage of the unknown Oscan town of Hyria should be assigned to Surrentum, but this hypothesis was long ago abandoned (1). It should also be observed that the seats of the various forms of worship are generally not located in the town itself, but are scattered over the whole peninsula.

PRE-ROMAN CULTS, THE SIRENS.

One of the earliest and long the most celebrated cult in the neighborhood of Surrentum was that of the Sirens, who were connected both with the promontory and with the group of rocky islands off the southern coast, which today bear the name of Li Galli.

Either these rocks or the cliffs along the coast are referred to by Vergil in his account of the voyage of Aeneas from Sicily to Italy; they are called « dangerous » and described as « whitened with the bones of men » (2). Pomponius Mela makes a similar allusion with a direct mention of the islands as distinguished from the mainland (3). Statius occasionally associated the Sirens with this peninsula (4). Strabo speaks of the shrine itself as located on one side of it, opposite to that part which faces the islands, and adds elsewhere that the temple gave its name to the peninsula (5). Likewise Pseudo-

(1) A. Sambon I, 293 with references to earlier works.

(2) Verg. *Aen* V, 864:

lamque adeo scopulos Sirenum aduecta subibant
difficiles quondam multorumque ossibus albos.

Cp. Dionysius *Perig.* 357 and the commentary of Eustathius; Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* II, 341; Champault, *Phéniciens et Grecs en Italie* 454; Douglas, *Siren Land* 40 f.

(3) Mela II, 69: Petrae quas Sirenes habitarunt, Mineruae promunturium..... Gruppe 362 makes this reference pertain to Terina, but as the geographer names the rocks immediately after *Silerus amnis* and *Picentia* and just before the *Mineruae promunturium*, he can scarcely be referring to that city.

(4) Stat. *sil.* 1, 2, 116; II, 2, 1; III, 1, 64. But in *Silvae* III, 3, 174 the reference is to the rocks of Pelorum in Sicily.

(5) Strab. 1, 2, 12.

Aristotle and following him Stephanus of Byzantium in similar words mention both the islands and the shrine, where the Sirens Parthenope, Leucosia, Ligeia were zealously adored with sacrifices by the inhabitants of the surounding territory (1) Such references to their cult and shrine depend ultimately on Timaeus (2). The region called *Mons Sirenianus* in the *Liber Coloniarum* seems to have been consecrated in ancient times to these creatures; after their shrine declined in importance the tract of land was in part allotted to colonists, but it is more questionable that a portion, as claimed by Pais, was bestowed upon Minerva (3).

The sound of the waves dashing against the shores of the peninsula and the real difficulties encountered by the mariner in the stretch of sea between it and Capri appealed strongly to the imagination and created the legends of the goddesses who strove to beguile with the winsome melody of song (4). They are first mentioned in the Odyssey. They were quite vaguely conceived, and the stories in circulation about them were not always consistent; yet they were generally regarded here as winged females rather than partially humanized birds (5). In fact they were reputed originally to have been three sisters who were drowned in the waters that washed this shore. For that reason their spirits were doubtless reverenced as chthonic deities (6). Furthermore they were associated in myth with Proserpina by the Greeks of southern Italy and Sicily. According to one account they were playing with her when she was kidnapped, and because they had not resisted

(1) Pseudo-Arist, de *mir. ausc.* 103. Stephanus of Byzantium Σειρηνοῦσαι.

(2) Beloch 276; Weiker, *Seirenen*, Roscher IV, 607; and *Der Seelenvogel* 61.

(3) *Liber coloniarum* (*Die Schriften der röm. Feldmesser* p. 236). Pais *Ancient Italy* 223, *Ricerche stor. e geog.* 283.

(4) *Odyssey* XII, 154-200; Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* II, 331; Michel, *Sirenes*, D.-S. IV, 1353; De Petra, *Partenope Sicula* in *Miscellanea Salinas* 82 f.

(5) Michel, *loc. cit.*; De Petra, *Le Sirene del mar tirreno* in *Atti Nap.* XXV (1908) part I, 14; Douglas, *Siren Land* 19; Patroni *Intorno al mito della Sirene* 4.

(6) See p. 174.

her abduction were metamorphosed by her mother into birds (1).

On account of the reputed powers of the Sirens it was necessary to keep them appeased, and we can be sure that their cult prospered on account of this belief. We learn in fact that a notable collection of venerable dedications was on display in their shrine at an early day (2). Other localities had a shrine where a single Siren was worshipped, as Neapolis was devoted to the cult of Parthenope, but nowhere else within historical times were the Sirens worshipped collectively as major deities either in Italy or in another part of the Greek world (3).

Although the ancient authors were struck by the magnificence of the cult carried on in honor of the Sirens, they failed to set down enough definite information to determine exactly its location. From the passage of Strabo already cited we learn that it stood on the northern side of the peninsula. Statius, while speaking of the poetical efforts of his friend Pollius, says that on the one hand he had for audience the Siren dwelling upon the cliffs of the sea and on the other the goddess Athena (4). From this brief suggestion we may gather that the temple was on the shore not very remote from Athena's shrine at the end of the peninsula, - a view borne out by the obscure statements of the *Liber Coloniarum*, which associates the places consecrated to these two cults (5).

Starting from these indications modern scholars have come to different conclusions about the precise location. Capasso, who studied exhaustively the topography of this region, placed it on the coast between Sorrento and the village of Massa Lubrense, which is three and a half miles nearer the end of

(1) Hyg. *fab.* 141; Ov. *met.* V, 554; De Petra, *Le Sirene del Mar Tirreno* in *Atti Nap.* XXV (1908) part I, 12; Lenormant, *Ceres*, D.-S. I, 1032. Cp. Eurip. *Helena* 175 f.; Patroni, *op. cit.* 8.

(2) Strab. V, 4, 8.

(3) So Terina and Posidonia each had a Siren. Weicker, *Seirenen*, Roscher IV, 607.

(4) Stat. *sil.* II, 2, 116.

(5) *Liber Coloniarum* (Lachmann p. 236).

the peninsula (1). Beloch located it still farther west on the site of the church called S. Maria della Lobbra, which is quite near the village of Massa. This identification is favored by the epithet of the church, which like that of the town, must be derived from the Latin *delubrum* (2).

The claims of a neighboring site have recently been advocated by Pais, who has presented some archaeological evidence for his identification, and calls attention to the fact that the cult of S. Maria della Lobbra has occupied its present site only since the sixteenth century (3). The coast below Massa Lubrense between Capo Masso and Capo Corno forms a little harbor; near it upon a slight elevation are the remains of a mediaeval church, whose services were later transferred to the S. Maria della Lobbra mentioned in the preceding paragraph. In the ground forming this hill were unearthed a number of ancient marbles including pieces of statues and architectural fragments. Among these objects was a part of an archaic head, which Pais is inclined to associate with the dedications of the shrine of the Sirens, and to consider either as one of the venerable originals or a later copy. Moreover the cult of the Virgin as a protectress of seamen had characteristics here in the Middle Ages that may well have been transmitted from the rites of the pagan shrine (4).

ATHENA-MINERVA.

Despite the fact that the cult of the Sirens had impressed itself so strongly upon this locality that the latter was called by their name, the rival cult of Athena more and more made its influence felt in the designations applied to the same region,

(1) Capasso, *Memorie storico-archeologiche della penisola sorrentina*, 51 f.

(2) Beloch 275. The other circumstance adduced to support this opinion, that an old tradition connected the site with a temple, is more questionable, in view of the many false indentifications of churches or ruins with temples. Douglas, *Siren Land* 18; Gargiullo, *Memorie della r. accad. ercol.* I, 322.

(3) Pais, *The Temple of the Sirens in the Sorrentine Peninsula* in *A. J. A.* IX (1905) 1 f.; *Ancient Italy* 213 f.

(4) Serafino Montorio, *Zodiaco di Maria* (1713) 199, quoted by Pais *Ancient Italy* 216; Cp. Trede, *Das Heidentum in der röm. Kirche* IV, 172.

which was called *Athenaion* or *Promunturium Mineruae* (1). In the third century B. C. to judge from the evidence based upon Timaeus, the Sirens were still supreme at Surrentum but were gradually outstripped in popularity by Minerva. From the first she was supported by a large assignment of land, similar to that which was allotted to the Sirens. This was occupied by tenants of Greek nationality (2). As early as the beginning of the second century B. C. her shrine was widely known and had attracted the attention of the Roman government. Thus in 172 B. C. when the naval trophies of the First Punic War upon the Capitoline had been struck by lightning and the event was considered as a serious omen, one of the places where the Senate ordered expiation to be made was at the temple of Minerva near Surrentum (3). At the close of the Republic and under the Empire this temple was easily first in public esteem. When P. Sittius of Nuceria planted his colonies in Numidia with the authorization of Julius Caesar, and desired to honor the towns of his home district along with their leading deities in the names applied to his settlements, he selected the title *Colonia Mineruia Chullu* for the one asociated with Surrentum (4). Statius likewise refers to Minerva as representing the region of Surrentum when he enumerates the localities which sent pupils to listen to his father's instruction, and Pliny speaks of the peninsula as the former home of the Sirens (5). The increasing prominence of Minerva was a natural development. While the Sirens suggested the malevolent spirits of the sea, Minerva stood especially for its beneficent influence. She gained in importance as the art

(1) Strab. 1, 2, 12; V. 4, 8; *Tabula Peutingerana* C. *I. L.* X, p. 58, Templum Mineruae.

(2) *Liber Coloniarum*: Surrentum, oppidum. Ager eius ex occupatione tenebatur a Grecis ob consecrationem Mineruae. Sed et mons Sirenianus limitibus pro parte Augustianis est adsignatus; ceterum in soluto remansit. Iter populo debetur ubi Sirenae.

(3) Liv. XLII, 20, 3: Decemuiri lustrandum oppidi, supplicationem obsecrationemque habendam, uictimis maioribus sacrificandum et in Capitolio Romae et in Campania ad Mineruae Promunturium renuntiarunt. Cp. Reitzenstein, *Ined. poem. gr. frag.* 10.

(4) C. *I. L.* VIII, 6710, 6711. Cp. Beloch 241.

(5) Stat. *sil.* V, 3, 162; Plin. *nat.* III, 62.

of navigation improved and reason encroached upon superstition. She had the same function as that exercised by Leucothea in other places (1).

The goddess originally worshipped here was unquestionably the Greek Athena. As Statius in the passages cited above speaks of her as Tyrrhena Minerua, it has been supposed, as by Müller-Deeke, that the origin of the cult was Etruscan; the phrase, however, adopted by the poet in this case refers merely to the power exercised by the divinity over the Tuscan Sea (2). The age of the cult is dubious; according to tradition the shrine was of extreme antiquity and had been founded by Ulysses, yet the tendency to associate all the coast of southern Italy with this hero makes the reference of little value (3). More likely it was introduced considerably later, when the worship of the Sirens had already attained a flourishing condition, and in consequence had to contend long for supremacy. The view that the temple was due to the Cumeans is unfounded, as they seem not to have been much interested in the worship of Athena at least in the earlier period (4). Pais, who has treated fully the question of the origin of the cult, considers that it came from Syracuse largely through the intervention of the mariners from Lipara, who on the one hand maintained friendly relations with their Dorian kinsmen in the great Sicilian city and on the other showed a predilection for the port of Surrentum above any other in Campania (5). The temple, situated upon a high promontory overlooking the sea, was the seat of a goddess who was primarily a patron of navigators and therefore belonged to the same class of shrines as the temples of Athena at Syracuse and on Capo Sallentino. As at Syracuse, so at Surrentum the passing traveler poured out libations in her

(1) Pais, *'Arch. Stor. Nap.* XXV (1900) 353, *Ancient Italy* 231, *Ricerche stor. e geog.* 291-2; Douglas, *Siren Land* 280.

(2) Müller-Deecke, *Die Etrusker* II, 47; Wissowa, *Minerva*, Roscher II, 2983.

(3) Strab. V, 4, 8; Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* 16.

(4) Gargiulo, *Memorie della r. accad. ercol.* I, 327.

(5) Pais, *Ancient Italy* 221 f.; *Ricerche stor. e geog.* 281 f.

honor (1). The maritime character of the divinity is also shown by the expiation made at her temple, which has been already recorded. This was performed in the interests of the Roman naval forces made up principally at this time of vessels contributed by the cities of southern Italy, particulary Neapolis. Minerva was recognized on other occasions as a deity interested in the welfare of the Roman fleet, and the ceremonies to counteract the omen were therefore appropriately assigned to her important temple in the vicinity of Neapolis (2).

The location of the temple can be determined with considerable accuracy from notices in the authors. It stood on the point of Campanella at the extremity of the peninsula in close proximity to Capreae and is mentioned in connection with that island by Seneca and Statius (3). According to all accounts it was located on a high point near the sea. The unknown poet in Seneca describes it as towering upon a storm-swept peak; Statius, as perched upon lofty rocks, whence the goddess enjoyed an unrestricted view over the low-lying sea (4). The temple long maintained its prominence and its site retained the ancient name in the early mediaeval period (5). No remains are

(1) Stat. *sil. III*, 2, 21-24; Polemo in Athenaeus XI, 462b; Pais, *Ancient Italy* 228, *Ricerche stor. e geog.* 288 and *Storia della Sicilia*, Appendix XI, 554 .Ciaceri, *Culti e miti della Sicilia* 155, 223, while recognizing that the ceremony at Syracuse had some connection with Athena makes it refer primarily to Dionysus.

(2) Pais, *Ancient Italy* 229-30, *Ricerche stor. e geog.* 289. Cp. Roscher, *Athena*, Roscher I, 675 f.

(3) Stat. *sil. III*, 2, 22-24:

> Prima salutauit Capreas et margine dextro
> sparsit Tyrrhenae Marcotica uina Mineruae.

Sen. *epist.* X, 1:

> Cum intrauere Capreas et promunturium ex quo
> alta procelloso speculatur uertice Pallas
> ceterae uelo tubentur esse contentae.

(4) Sen. *loc. cit.*; Stat. *sil.* II, 2, 1:

> Est inter notos Sirenum nomine muros
> saxaque Tyrrhenae templis onerata Mineruae
> celsa Dicharchei speculatrix uilla profundi
> qua Bromio dilectus ager, collisque per altos
> uritur et prelis non inuidet uua Falernis.

sil. III, 1, 106; V, 3, 162 f.

(5) *Tabula Peutingerana loc. cit.*

now extant, and those which passed under this name in former centuries were probably so called without reason. The ancient columns, however, belonging to the church of S. Pietro di Crapolla, which is situated on the southern side of the peninsula, are supposed at least in part to be derived from that edifice (1).

VENUS AND CERES.

Venus and Ceres were sometimes or perhaps always served by the same priestesses, who as at Pompeii bore the name *sacerdotes publicae*. They were regularly matrons, members of the best families, and occupied a high social position in the community. The office is mentioned in two fragmentary epitaphs, one of which records the funeral honors decreed as a tribute to the priestess and states that her statue had been placed in the temple of Venus (2). The only other reference to the cult of Venus occurs in the Pseudo-Vergilian Catalepton, where an altar on the Surrentine coast along with Caesar is said to be calling her (3). The two cults of Venus and Ceres probably had separate shrines, although they were looked after by priestesses common to both. For the latter were rather supervisory officials occupying a public office of the state than actual attendants serving a particular shrine. The work of the ritual itself could be done by subordinates. The Venus cult, although introduced at an early period, undoubtedly grew strong as a result of the influence of Sulla and Caesar and the prestige of the neighboring shrine at Pompeii (4). Beloch locates her shrine at the edge of the city on the water front in the vicinity of the Grotta di S. Giorgio and the Hotel Sirena. Here an image of Cupid was found at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but

(1) Beloch 276; Douglas, *Siren Land* 116 f.; Capasso, *op. cit.* 59 f.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 680, Vaglieri 1881, ...ae L. f. Magnae sacerdoti public. Veneris et Cereris; *C. I. L.* X, 688, Vaglieri 1968 .....sacerd. public. Vener... huic matronae statuam ex aere collato in aedem Veneris ponendam curauerunt.

(3) *Catal.* XIV, 11: Adsis, O Cytherea: tuus te Caesar Olympo et Surrentini litoris ara uocat.

(4) Gargiulo *Mem. d. r. accad. ercol.* I, 321 suggests its introduction from Lipara.

nothing affording an absolute identification of the site (1). The older antiquarians as Gargiulo attempted to find a temple site for Ceres (2).

NEPTUNE.

On the shore southwest of Surrentum between it and the Sirens' temple stood two sanctuaries consecrated respectively to Neptune and Hercules, who served as double guardians of the place. More precisely they were situated along the little indentation of the sea between Capo di Sorrento and Capo di Massa, and were both in close proximity to the magnificent villa of Pollius Felix, which Statius describes at great length in his *Siluae*. As the villa was situated on the hill called *Punta della Calcarella,* the temple of Neptune, which is described as standing in front of it, must have been located on the cliff that lines the coast at this point (3). It was on the very edge of the shore buffeted by the waves and wet with the spray; eventually it was probably carried away by the assaults of the furious sea (4). The cult seems to have been an important one, as the district of Surrentum is associated especially with Neptune by Statius (5). As a maritime god he shared with Minerva the office of giving aid and protection to those who sailed the seas.

HERCULES.

Since the temple dedicated to Hercules is the subject of one of the poems of Statius, we have considerable information

(1) Beloch 266; Gargiulo 320; Capasso 48.

(2) He builds his theory on the supposed corruption of Ceres into Circo. Gargiulo 317.

(3) Stat. *sil.* II, 2, 21.

> Ante domum tumidae moderatur caerulus undae
> excubat, innocui custos Laris; huius amico
> spumant templa salo; felicia rura tuetur
> Alcides. Gaudet gemino sub numine portus.

(4) Beloch 272. Cp. Gargiulo 320.

(5) Stat. *sil.* IV, 8, 6: Nec solum festas erecta Neapolis aras
ambiat; et socii portus dilectaque miti
terra Dicarcheo nec non plaga cara madenti
Surrentina deo sertis altaria cingat.....

about a restoration carried out in the year 90-91 A. D. by the poet's friend Pollius. It stood upon the shore of the *Marina di Puolo* not far from the temple of Neptune and Pollius' country home (1). Previous to the date above mentioned the -cult had its seat in a small insignificant chapel built upon a narrow ledge of rocks, the dilapidated condition of which is exaggerated by the poet in order to make the new building appear all the more splendid (2). The chapel was probably not strictly a public temple; it served the needs chiefly of the sailors who frequented this coast, as Hercules like the other gods worshipped here was a maritime deity (3).

According to the poet's tale, while Pollius and his friends were eating a picnic dinner in the open air on a midsummer day, they were surprised by a sudden storm and sought shelter in the temple of Hercules, which, however, was too small to contain easily all the company (4). During this time the god chided the wealthy Pollius because his own shrine was mean and contemptible when compared with all the adjoining buildings. The reproaches did not fall upon deaf ears and touched their hearer's conscience. A larger and more magnificent structure was designed, the adjoining rocks were removed to afford more room, and in the course of a year a handsome edifice was erected to be a credit to the country side (5). Its dedication was accompanied by the institution of athletic contests upon the sandy beach, - a festival that became an annual event (6).

(1) Stat *sil.* II, 2, 21; Boehm, *Hercules*, P.-W. VIII, 585; Capasso 55.
(2) Stat. *sil.* III, 1, 1-7.
(3) Stat. *sil.* III, 1, 83; Stabat dicta sacri tenuis casa nomine templi
et magnum Alciden humili lare parua premebat,
fluctiuagos nautas scrutatoresque profundi
uix operire capax. Cp. *ibidem* 107.
(4) Stat. *sil.* III 1, 68 f.
(5) Stat. *sil.* III, 1, 135 f: Vix annus anhelat
alter, et ingenti diues Tirynthius arce
despectat fluctus et iunctae tecta nouercae
prouocat et dignis inuitat Pallada templis.
(6) Stat. *sil.* III, 1, 43 f., 139 f.

Somewhere in this region not too far from the shrine of Hercules stood Juno's sanctuary. Nothing is known about it save the fact that it afforded an easy view to the former (1). Apollo was probably worshipped in a shrine situated upon the heights of the southern shore of the peninsula. A trace of his name seems to be preserved in the designation applied to the church of S. Pietro di Crapollo, which may be derived from ἄκρον Ἀπόλλωνος. It is situated opposite the Sirenusae. In the account of the myth of the Sirens given by Hyginus they are represented as coming from Sicily to the rock of Apollo (2). The evidence which has been presented for cults of other important deities such as Jupiter or Hecate is of no value (3).

Along with the greater gods at least one hero was venerated in this locality. Liparus according to legend was a prince who had been forced to flee from Italy to the island of Lipara, which he colonized and named. Restored in the course of time to his native land by his son-in-law Aeolus, he had ruled as a king at Surrentum and after his death received henceforth the honors of a hero (4).

(1) Stat. *sil.* III, 1, 104 f.; 137; Capasso *Mem. storico-arch. della penisola sorrentina,* 56.

(2) Hyg. *fab.* 141. An interesting modern religious procession starting from Sorrento is described by Gargiulo, who thinks it a survival of pagan usage pertaining to the Apollo cult. Too little is known about the Apollo worship here to draw any conclusions from it. Gargiulo *Mem. d. r. accad. ercol.* I, 331. This writer tried to locate two temples of the god in the district of Surrentum.

(3)Gargiulo tries to find evidence for Jupiter in Stat. *sil.* III, 1, 108 but an examination of the passage beginning with line 137 indicates that only Minerva and Juno had temples in the vicinity. Gargiulo *op. cit.* 325, 326; Capasso 57.

(4) Diod. V, 7. It is not quite clear from Diodorus whether the last events allude to Aeolus or Liparus. The interpretation in the text seems the more probable from the statements of the Greek. This is the opinion of Schirmer, *Liparos,* Roscher II, 2063; Roscher, *Aiolos,* Roscher, I, 194; Ciaceri, *Culti e miti della Sicilia* 101; Pais, *Ancient Italy* 223; the opposite view is held by Beloch 435 (1); Tümpel, *Aiolos,* P.-W. I, 1038.

ROMAN CULTS.

Epigraphical material relative to the priesthoods and collegia of the Empire particularly those associated with the cult of the Emperors is almost entirely wanting in this locality. Of the older religious officials only the augur is cited; of those who carried on the cult of the Emperors only a flamen of Roma and Tiberius has left any traces of his presence. Both offices were filled by a certain L. Cornelius whose cognomen has been lost (1). The inscription is cited incorrectly by Richter among the examples attesting a union of the worship of Roma and Diuus Augustus (2). Instead it belongs to the extremely rare evidence for a cult of the Emperor Tiberius in the West, and is one of the very few references to a combination of his worship with that of Roma (3). The desire of that Emperor to prevent his worship was evidently respected for the most part in the West generally and in Italy, but here there was a considerable Greek element to be considered (4). His cult here must have been of an ephemeral character which soon passed; as the cult of Roma herself was not a popular one and depended for its existence upon its alliance with the Imperial family, it probably had no very long life here.

MAGNA MATER.

There is no evidence for assigning to this town a cult of Magna Mater. The well known pedestal discovered here, which was designed to support a statue of one of the members of the Imperial family, contains reliefs of several divinities connected particularly with that family among which appears a likeness of Cybele (5). But these figures are an attempt to

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 668; Vaglieri 1968.

(2) Richter, *Roma,* Roscher IV, 145.

(3) Tiberius and Roma were worshipped at Mograwa in the province of Africa (provincia Byzacena) *C. I. L.* VIII, 11912. A doubtful case depending upon a supplement to a mutilated inscription is *C. I. L.* VIII, 16472 also from Africa. Cp. Toutain, *Les cultes paiens* I, 62; Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsr* II (3), 758; Herbst, *De sacerdotiis Rom. munic.* 8.

(4) A flamen of Tiberius is cited from Venusia *C. I. L.* IX, 652.

(5) Gerhard, *Neapels antike Bildwerke* Pl. 22; Müller- Wieseler, *Denkmäler* II, 63, 810; Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* 112.

portray leading divinities worshipped in the Roman Forum and on the Palatine, and so have no bearing upon local conditions at Surrentum (1).

CHRISTIANITY.

Among the patron saints of the church at Surrentum are four bishops; these however have been assigned to the fifth century and probably were not martyrs (2).

CAPREAE.

Capreae, an island connected with the earliest Greek settlements in Italy belongs geographically to the Sorrentine peninsula, from which it is separated by a channel only three miles wide. Politically it was under the jurisdiction of Neapolis from an unknown date up to the reign of Augustus, when it became an Imperial possession. Brought into prominence by the long sojourn of Tiberius, it sank again into obscurity, and is seldom mentioned later. In spite of its early settlement and long period of habitation as a Greek community it has yielded little evidence pertaining to ancient religious conditions (3).

One tradition made this the home of the Sirens, but no record of any worship here has been preserved (4). It is commonly affirmed that Tiberius built twelve villas on the island, which he named after the twelve leading Roman gods (5). But it is not certain that these buildings were the work of that prince, and the statement that the largest was called the villa

(1) Gargiulo, *op. cit.* 319-320, however, cites an altar containing a figure of Magna Mater seated on a car drawn by lions and followed by a crowd. The reliefs are spoken of as disappearing. Cp. Capasso 48.

(2) E. Stevenson, *Bull. arch. crist.* 1879, 37; Lanzoni, *Riv. storico-crit. delle scienze* teol. VI (1910) 284.

(3) Hülsen, *Capreae,* P.-W. III, 1546-1548; Beloch 280-282; Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 681.

(4) Serv. *Aen.* V, 864: Et primo iuxta Pelorum, post in Capreis insulis habitauerunt, quae inlectos suo cantu in naufragia deducebant; *Mythographi Vaticani* I, 42 (of similar purport); Douglas, *Some Antiquarian notes* VIII, 256; Canale, *Storia dell'isola di Capri* 35.

(5) Suet. *Tib.* 65; Tac. *ann.* IV, 67; Hülsen, P.-W. III, 1547; Beloch 282.

of Jupiter rests upon a dubious text where the weight of evidence in the manuscripts is altogether in favor of the reading, villa of Io (1). A local designation *Moneta* applied to a spot not far from the Palazzo di Tiberio, is sometimes cited as testimony for the presence of a shrine of Juno Moneta or at least of a villa bearing her name, but no good evidence for this deity is at hand (2). In truth there is no proof that the body of greater gods was formally recognized in the names of the buildings associated with Tiberius.

ORIENTAL CULTS.

In the excavations made by Hadrawa in 1790 at the place called Campo Pisco (Palazzo a mare), where one of the largest villas was situated, a large number of antiquities came to light including an altar of Magna Mater, which is reported to have been consigned to the British Museum (3). In the eastern part of the island the natural cavern called *Grotta di Mitromania* once served as the shrine of the god Mithras. The front of the cave was divided into three chambers once closed with a wall of brick. It faced the east, a situation which was probably preferred, but which owing to existing conditions was not always possible. The principal chamber on the left was succeeded in the rear by two terraces of semi-circular form connected with each other and with the outer chamber by stairways (4). From this shrine perhaps came a bas-relief preserved in the National Museum at Naples. It shows the bull-slaying Mithras with his customary symbols, and also busts of Sol and Luna (5).

(1) Ihm, *Suetoniana, Hermes* XXXVI (1901) 287; Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften* 534 (2).

(2) Canale, *Storia dell'isola di Capri*, 71.

(3) Beloch 286; Feola, *Rapporto sullo stato attuale dei ruderi Augusto-Tiberiani nella isola di Capri* 2.

(4) Cumont, *Texts et monuments* I, 58, 58 (3); II, 251, No. 95 (description of grotto and plan); Feola *op. cit.* 18 f.; Beloch 288; Canale 84.

(5) Cumont, II, 252, Fig. 87, 88; Rüsch, *Guida* 182, No. 671; *Museo Museo Borbonico* XIII, 22.

CHAPTER VII.

CAPUA.

In the northern part of the Campanian plain not far from the Volturnus River was situated in ancient times the important city of Capua. Some two miles away toward the north rose the mountain range called Tifata, an offshoot of the Apennines, but the city itself was built entirely on the level plain. Among its most characteristic features were its comparatively large area and its regularity of design; with its straight, well-ordered streets running exactly in accord with the points of the compass it gained renown as a model of symmetrical beauty. Of these streets the principal avenue or *Decumanus* was doubtless formed by the Via Appia, which at this point changed its direction materially to conform with the plan of the town.

Surrounding the city and extending southward nearly to the sea stretched the broad expanse of level country known as the Ager Campanus. Originally the territory properly belonging to Capua comprised all the western portion of this plain bounded on the north by the Volturnus River. Eastward its jurisdiction included the heights of Mt. Tifata and extended about as far as the modern village of S. Agatha de' Goti. The place called Scyllas in the Tabula Peutingerana appears to have been located toward the eastern extremity of this territory. On the south the *collis Leucogaeus* three miles from the coast seems to have marked its boundary on the side of Cumae and the other coast cities. Westward its possessions extended to the sea. Nor was the Ager Campanus all the territory of this city; it held sway likewise over the Ager Falernus and the Ager Stellas or Stellatis both lying beyond the Volturnus. Although

this tributary country was later abridged by the founding of Roman colonies, Capua remained the natural metropolis of the plains.

In the first place then on account of its situation it was naturally a great agricultural center inhabited largely by those who were interested directly or indirectly in the cultivation of the soil. On the rich plains grain was the chief crop and had an enviable reputation for its quality, while the raising of live stock with the exception of horses was less successful. As the higher ground eastward among the mountains was favorable for olive culture, Capua was a great market for oil. Likewise the upland as well as the Ager Falernus produced wines of high grade and considerable reputation. Within the city manufactures flourished, including such staple articles as pottery, metal and wood work, rope, carpets, and a line of celebrated perfumed ointments. From all these causes the city enjoyed a remarkable growth, until it became the second city in Italy in population and importance.

It seems to have been also the literary metropolis of the Oscans during the fourth and third centuries B. C. It was the birth place of several men prominent in literature or scholarship from time to time, among whom Naevius and Velleius Paterculus are most widely known, and it was the residence of Dio Cassius while he was composing his histories. But the devotion of the people to gladiatorial combats eclipsed in general all their other interests. The custom in fact became so prevalent that the wealthy citiziens sometimes viewed these spectacles at their meals. To supply the demand at home and elsewhere the famous schools for training gladiators were maintained. With good reason the Capuans were notorious for their luxury, yet the most incredible tales circulated must be largely discounted because of the fact that they are due to the Romans, who were fond of stigmatizing the *superbia Campana* (1).

The location of the city on level ground and its symmetrical arrangement point to a comparatively late date of settlement. Like other Italian towns its early history is wrapped in

(1) Cp. Beloch 334; Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde* II, 707; Hülsen, *Capua*, P.-W. III, 1555 f.; De Petra, *I porti antichi dell'Italia meridionale* 316.

obscurity, and the traditional accounts exhibit noticeable variation. According to one account it was founded by the Etruscans as one of their twelve Campanian cities and had at that time the name Volturnum (1). But the original settlement on this site seems to have been made by men of another race, as is shown by the name of the city, now generally considered to be Oscan (2), by discoveries made in the most ancient tombs, and finally by the general use of Oscan when the recorded history of the city begins. Later it was certainly under Etruscan domination for a brief period.

In the latter part of the fifth century B. C. the city came under the power of the Samnites, - a change of government which may have been welcomed by the greater part of the population. During the next century as the townsmen were hard pressed by the mountaineers, they made some agreement with the Romans the terms of which are obscure (340 or 343 B. C.). They were received as citizens *sine suffragio*, and in the succeeding period they probably issued the series of coins with the legend *Campanos*, which are assigned by most numismatist to this city (3). During the Samnite Wars, however, they revolted with the result that they forfeited their control over the Ager Falernus, which was distributed among Roman citizens, and had to submit to the jurisdiction of *praefecti* sent out from Rome (318 B. C.). Yet Oscan remained the official language, the older native officials did not pass out of existence; and a series of coins was minted, which when of silver or gold, were stamped with the mark of Rome, but when the material was bronze, bore the city's proper legend in Oscan (4).

Influenced by Hannibal's unprecedented success against Rome, Capua finally espoused the cause of Carthage and was brought back under Roman control only after an extended siege (211 B. C.). As a result of this revolt the Capuans were

(1) According to another view the Etruscans became masters not of the ancient Capua but of the adjoining town of Casilinum, the modern Capua. See Pais, *Anc. Legends of Rom. Hist.* 252; *Stor. crit. di Roma* I, 234 (1).

(2) A. discussion of the name occurs in Beloch 297; Hülsen P.-W. III, 1555; de Ruggiero, *Capua*, Ruggiero II, 102.

(3) This view is combatted by A. Sambon I, 286.

(4) Häberlin, however, assigns these coins to the period of the revolt 213-211 B. C. *Die Systematik des ältesten röm. Münzwesens* 10.

severely punished. Although they retained the right of contracting legal marriage, they lost all their privileges as a civic community and their municipal organization was abolished. Only now did the Latinization of the district begin, the first datable inscription in this language going back no farther than 110 B. C. The city suffered likewise some loss of territory; Roman colonies were established at Volturnum and Liternum (205 B. C.) and at Puteoli (194 B. C.), which, however, in every case were composed of but few colonists and occupied only a narrow strip along the coast. The rest of the Ager Campanus, while not definitely assigned became the property of the Roman state.

During the succeeding century several attempts were made by popular leaders to colonize the country around Capua. During the ascendancy of Marius and Cinna a colony was established under the leadership of M. Brutus (86 B. C.), but this soon broke up after the fall of the democratic party. At the time of the Social War and the struggle between Sulla and his opponents Capua had a place of prominence, in the first case as a center for the operations of the Roman armies, in the second as a stronghold of the *populares*. An attempt to renew the colony by the tribune P. Seruilius Rullus was defeated, but in 58 B. C. through Julius Caesar's influence 20000 colonists received allotments of ten *iugera* tracts. Officially the colony was known by the name *Colonia Iulia Felix Capua*. Later additions were made by Mark Antony after the battle of Philippi (43), by Octavian, when supreme in the West (36 B. C.), and in the time of the Empire by Nero. In the Civil War between the partisans of Vitellius and Vespasian Capua gave allegiance to the former, while her neighbor and rival Puteoli was on the winning side. As a result we find later that the southern part of the Ager Campanus as far as Aversa has come under Puteoli's jurisdiction, although this loss was balanced in part by the accession of part of the Ager Falernus.

Later references to Capua are comparatively few. In the fourth century A. D. it was called *Colonia Concordia Iulia Valeria Felix Capua*, and was the seat of the *consularis Campaniae*. Ausonius ranked it as eighth in the list of cities in the Empire, designating it as inferior to Mediolanum (Milan) but

larger than Aquileia (1). Captured by Gaiseric during the inroads of the barbarians, it nevertheless survived and appears in the sixth century as a stronghold of the opposition to Byzantine rule. In 840 it was completely destroyed by the Saracens. Survivors built a new city on the bank of the Volturnus, and the old site remained deserted until well into the Middle Ages, when another settlement was made under the name of S. Maria di Capua Vetere (2).

When we attempt to investigate the various cults which had a part in the religious life of Capua, we find ourselves hampered by the lack of a knowledge of the location of even the most important shrines. In a few cases notably at S. Angelo in Formis Christian churches seem to occupy the site of pagan temples, one of the many instances of the tenacity with which sacred places maintain their character of sanctity unimpaired through many vicissitudes of fortune. But, although our knowledge of the ancient topography is very limited so far as it concerns the religious side of life, we possess what purports to be a full account of the town site at an epoch when there were more remains of buildings extant than are preserved today. Unfortunately this is the work of the unreliable Pratilli, and although some of his supposed forgeries have turned out to be genuine and some of his claims were doubtless based on reality, yet his statements alone, when not corroborated by other evidence, are of little value (3). According to his account there existed the proof for no fewer than nine shrines, but the inscriptions offered by him to attest their existence are generally suspected of being his own manufacture. Furthermore, the extant evidence mostly refers not to the city itself but to the country districts of the adjacent Campanian plain. Then

(1) Auson., *Ordo urbium nobilium* VIII. Cp. Anonymus Ravennas *Cosmographia* IV, 34 (Kapua caput Campaniae) and Guido Pisanus, *Geographica* 42, 68.

(2) For the history of Capua see Hülsen, *loc. cit.*; Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 365 f.; Desjardins, *La table de Peutinger* 203 f.; Beloch 296 f.; de Ruggiero, *Capua* Ruggiero II, 102; A. Sambon 387; Nissen II, 696.

(3) Pratilli's work entitled *Della Via Appia* was published in 1745. It purports to be founded on the work of older authorities (?), - Fabio Vecchioni, Silvestro Ajossa, Primicero d'Isa, Francesco Antonio di Tommaso.

as now this territory supported a large population who were well supplied with shrines.

PRE-ROMAN DIEITIES, DIANA

The most celebrated cult of the city was that of Diana which had its headquarters about two miles north of town on the western slope of Mt. Tifata (1). This elevation was surrounded in antiquity by dense forests from which it derived its name, and traversed by numerous water-courses down which trickled the salubrious water of various mineral springs. Below was a mountain lake, which later became a swamp and today has utterly disappeared (2). As this mountain is the nearest elevated point to the city of Capua and dominates the Campanian plain, it naturally proved important in a military way, and is not infrequently mentioned in accounts of the Samnite, Hannibalic and Civil Wars (3). In Sulla's time the whole region had long been accounted sacred to Diana. Its origin as a holy place is lost in the mists of legendary antiquity. According to tradition preserved by Vergil and Silius, Diana and her *famula,* a sacred doe, were worshipped in this locality by Capys, the mythical founder of the city (4). In fact this shrine in its venerable importance ranks with those of Diana Nemorensis and Diana Auentina as evidence for the high place assigned to this goddess by the primitive Italians, and was apparently a rallying point for the inhabitants of this part of the country, - the center in other words of the Campanian league (5). Although it has been maintained that this shrine was connected

(1) Beloch 361; Cesano, *Diana,* Ruggiero, II, 1730. While Pausanias undoubtedly refers to this temple (V, 12, 3) he overestimates its distance from the city.

(2) Festus, *Tifata* 366 M=Lindsay's ed. 503; Sil. XIII, 219; Vell. II, 25, 4; *Tab. Peut.* in *C. I. L.* X, p. 59; Desjardins *La table de Peut.* 195 Pl. V.; Pellegrino, *Discorsi* I, 380; Birt, *Diana,* Roscher I, 1005; Cook, *Zeus, Jupiter and the Oak* in *Class. Rev.* XVIII (1904) 369; Novi, *Iscrizioni monumenti e vico scoperti da Giuseppe Novi* 8 f.

(3) As the reputed location of Hannibal's camp, the place long kept the designation *Castra Hannibalis.* Cp. Sil. XII, 489. *Tab. Peut. loc. cit.*

(4) Vell. *loc. cit.*; Verg. *Aen* VII, 483-494; Sil. XIII, 115-125.

(5) Beloch 362.

more particularly with Casilinum, its relations seem to have been rather with Capua, the metropolis of the whole country (1). It was not only the most important Diana temple in Campania but the only one the existence of which is well authenticated (2). It should also be noted that here as in other ancient shrines the goddess is a forest deity important in herself; consequently she was never associated with Apollo. Treatments of this cult based on the theory that it was essentially Greek are entirely erroneous (3).

The site of the ancient temple has been occupied since the tenth century by the church of S. Angelo in Formis, adorned with columns which probably formed a part of the ancient edifice. According to a mediaeval chronicle permission to use them was granted to the adjacent monastery by the prince who became known as Louis the Pious (4). The temple site is definitely established by means of huge substructures yet in existence. Behind the church stands a supporting wall to hold fast the mass of the mountain and upon this it has been conjectured, rose part of the peribolos of the temple. In front of the church in early times stood an altar surviving from the old regime, which contained the dedication *Dianae Tifatinae Triviae sacrum*, so arranged that one word appeared on each face of the stone (5). Excavations made in the vicinity revealed the remains of an aqueduct, and brought to light a large quantity of small bronzes, terra-cottas, amphorae and other objects that were commonly left as votive offerings at a shrine (6).

Beneath the sanctuary at the foot of the mountain a village sprang up called the *uicus Dianae*, to which an allusion

(1) Pais. *Anc. Legends of Rom. Hist.* 332 (4).

(2) The goddess Artemis-Diana was sometimes revered in the temple of Apollo as at Pompeii, and at Cumae may have had a separate sanctuary. Cp. Boll. *Archiv. für Religionswissenschaft* XIII (1910) 567 f.; Beloch 331.

(3) Corcia, *Gli Arcadi in Italia* in *Atti Nap.* VIII (1876) 89; Albert, *Le culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie* 46.

(4) *Cronicon Vulturnense* beginning of book II = Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* I, part I, 368B. Cp. Leo Cardinal of Ostia, *Chronica sacri monasteri Casinensis* = Muratori IV, 329.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 3795; D. 3270.

(6) Beloch 365; Novi *loc. cit.*

is evidently made in the *Tabula Peutingerana* as *ad Diana* (1). The same work mentions also a *uia Dianae,* stretching from the temple to Capua, which a certain *duumuir* of the city G. Lart — Gabinius Fortuitus paved at his own expense from the Porta Vulturni to the village just mentioned. This ancient road has been identified with a fieldway running to the east of the present public road between S. Angelo and the town of S. Maria. In the other direction the *uia Dianae,* continuing its course some six miles farther, leads to the village that occupies the site of the ancient Syllas (2).

Our earliest direct evidence for Diana's cult is found in the third century Oscan coins. A series in bronze shows her bust upon the obverse, distinguished by the presence of a quiver of arrows; upon the reverse appears the figure of a running boar. She is probably to be recognized on the reverse of certain coins in the act of driving a two horse chariot, and it has been conjectured by A. Sambon that the two idols sometimes seen on others are representation of *xoana* of this goddess (3).

A mutilated inscription, dated by the names of the consuls in 99 B. C., mentions a body of *magistri* or overseers attached to this shrine, who had control over a considerable treasury (4). They formed a corporation representing the goddess with the same right of private ownership as was possessed

(1) C. *I. L.* X, p. 59=Desjardins, *La table de Peut,* 195, Pl. V.

(2) C. *I. L.* X, 3913=D 5380=Vaglieri 2080:

G. Lart .....Gabinio P. f. Pal. Fortuito dictatori Lan(uuii) Iluir(o) Capuae, quod uiam Dianae a porta Vodturn. ad uicum usq. sua pec. silice strauer. ob munific, eius d. d.

Beloch 365 f. Cp. C. *I. L.* X, 3792.

(3) A. Sambon 392, 399, Nos. 1032, 1034, 1038; Head 35; Garrucci 89, Pl. LXXXVII; Poole 81 f.; Cp. L. Sambon, *Recherches sur les monn.* 171; Dressel, *Beschr. d. ant. Münzen* III, 84.

(4) C. *I. L.* X, 3781 = C. *I. L.* I,569 = D. 5561 = Vaglieri 2096. Iannelli, *Atti Terra di Lavoro* 1888, 75 f.: .... M. Antonio, A. Postumio cos. Heisce mag. murum ab gradu ad calcidic. et calcidicum et portic. ante culin. long. p..... et signa marm. Cast. et Pol. et loc. priuat de stipe Dian. emendum (et f)aciendum coerauere. The significance of the *magistri* mentioned here and elsewhere will be discussed later. This interpretation is contested by Schulten, who maintains that Dian(ae) is in the dative case, *De conventibus civium Romanorum* 74 (2).

by a single person, - a prerogative the possession of which according to Mommsen is attested for no other shrine operating under Roman law excepted that of the Venus at Mt. Eryx (1). In conformity with this right appear inscriptions containing the phrases *Rufa Dianaes l (iberta)* and *Vrsulus uil (icus) Dianae* as well as a small bronze stamp inscribed *Diane Tifatine* (2). These indications point to the ownership of considerable personal property including slaves, and the possession of real estate is proved by the activity of the *magistri*. These officials besides buying additional land conducted building operations of considerable extent, constructing a wall, a portico and a *chalcidicum*, and also attended to the preparation of statues of the Dioscuri to adorn their shrine (3).

The temple prospered greatly under Roman control. After Sulla had defeated Norbanus of the opposing faction in this spot (83 B. C.) he gave to the goddess as a thank offering all Tifata and the adjoining plain, thus confirming and enlarging her domain. This grant seems to have been of a generous character; six miles to the east of the temple the Tabula Peutingerana marks the place called Syllas, which may fix one of the limits of his donation (4). According to Velleius it was commemorated by an inscription at the door of the sanctuary and also by a bronze tablet on the inside (5).

After this time the lands of the shrine seem to have formed a separate judicial district or *praefectura* in charge of which

(1) Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, 367. Cp. Mommsen, *Zur Lehre von den röm. Korporationen* in *Gesam. Schrif.* III, 63.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 4263; 8217; 8059. Mommsen, *Rh. Mus.* V (1847) 464, notes the rarity of seals containing the name of a divinity.

(3) The probable significance of the term *chalcidicum* is discussed by de Ruggiero, Ruggiero II, 216.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, p. 59, No. 9 = Desjardins, *op. cit.* 206, Col. 3, Pl. V.

(5) Vell. II, 25, 4: Post uictoriam ..... Sulla gratis Dianae, cuius numini regio illa sacrata est, soluit: aquas salubritate medendisque corporibus nobiles agrosque omnis addixit deae: huius gratae religionis memoriam et inscriptio templi adfixa posti hodieque et tabula testatur aerea intra aedem. Cesano (Ruggiero II, 1739) calls attention to Sulla's influence in promoting Diana's cult at Rome during the last years of the Republic. The dictator's son Faustus Cornelius Sulla placed the figure of the goddess upon coins minted in 53 B. C. Cp. Cesano, *op. cit.* 1738; Babelon, *Monn. de la rép. rom.* I, 421.

was a *pr(aefectus)* or *pr(aetor) iure dicundo*, whose functions are not well understood. The name of one such official belonging to the Imperial period has been preserved (1). In these times there were still *magistri*, but they were probably quite different in rank and general character from those who formed the *collegia* of pre-colonial days. The management of this important shrine was doubtless closely connected with the colonial government, and would be one of its chief tasks. Lists of *magistri* are no longer found; but individual examples of officials of the temple occur in the case of Q. Peticius and C. Velleius Urbanus, the latter of whom was honored with the distinction of the *equus publicus* by Antoninus Pius (2).

The Emperors so far as we have evidence, were watchful over the ancient prerogatives of the temple, and when they located colonists in the vicinity, were careful not to encroach upon its lands. Augustus had caused a chart of the various holdings to be prepared; later when the boundaries were becoming confused, Vespasian ordered a new survey and reconfirmed the rights of Diana (77 A. D.). The circumstance that two stones have been found giving in similar but not identical form the action of the Emperor makes it probable that *cippi* thus inscribed were used to mark the sacred boundaries (3).

The notices that have been transmitted to us lead us to the conclusion that the shrine was very rich in votive offerings. Athenaeus in two places speaks of a double-handled silver drinking cup kept here, which was said to have been a possession of the Homeric Nestor, and upon which in letters of

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 4564 = D. 6306 = Vaglieri 2109: D. m. s. C. Terentio C. fil. Pal. Charino pr. i. d. montis Dianae Tif. C. Terentius Hypercompus filio bono contra uotum. Cp. Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 367; *Röm. Staatsr.*, III, 799 (2). and *Cirta* in *Hermes* I, (1866) 63.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 3918 = D. 6304 = Vaglieri 2108. *C. I. L.* X, 3924 = D. 6305 = Vaglieri 2110; C. Velleius C. f. Pal. Vrbano mag. fan. Dian. Tif., honorato equo publ(ico) ab imp. Antonino Aug. cum ageret aetatis an. V. C. Velleius Vrbanus et Tullia Nice parentes. L. d. d. d.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 3828 = D. 251: Imp. Caesar Vespasianus Aug. cos. VIII fines agrorum dicatorum Dianae Tifat. a Cornelio Sulla ex forma diui Aug. restituit. P(raedia) D(ianae) T(ifatinae). *N. S.* 1893, 161 = D. 3240. This inscription is a reproduction of X, 3828 except that *locor.* takes the place of *agrorum.*

gold were engraved several hexameter lines (1). Pausanias alludes to the tusks, or as he would call them, « horns » of elephants, which he claims to have himself seen attached to the skull of one those animals in the temple (2). An interesting metrical inscription of the fourth century also has reference to a dedicatory offering; according to its text a hunter Delmatius Laetus, who invokes the deity as Latona, the resident of Mt. Tifata, has dedicated to her the horns of a deer (3). Besides the altar mentioned in another connection two more short dedications have been found in the vicinity, the first made by L. Naeuius Gratus, the other of unknown origin (4). A silver vase unearthed at Herculaneum contains among other words engraved upon the bottom the phrase, *scriptum Capuae at Deanam* (5). To the temple perhaps belonged an *aedituus* Dexter, mentioned upon an epitaph from S. Angelo in Formis, but it is possible that the word *aedituus* is a proper name (6).

That the cult was not exclusively local is proved by the discovery of an inscription and relief in Gallia Narbonensis, perhaps the work of a former resident of Capua. This stone in the form of a cippus exhibits the name of M. Iccius Mummius; the relief shows the goddess in a shrine clad in the apparel of a huntress with the common emblems of the bow, quiver, deer, and hounds, - an imitation in short of the type exemplified by the Diana of Versailles (7).

(1) Athen. 466 E. Athen. 489 B. is of similar purport. Cp. Cesano, *Diana,* Ruggiero II, 1731.

(2) Paus. V, 12, 3.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 3796 = D. 3261 = Vaglieri 1053. Cp. Nissen, *Inschriften aus Campanien* in *Hermes* I (1866) 158. There is some uncertainty as to which words represent the dedicator's name. Nissen discusses the probability that he was Delmatius, a brother or a nephew of Constantine the Great. Cp. Novi, *Iscrizioni, mon. e vico scop. da G. Novi* 22.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 3794: L. Naeuius L. f. Grat. Dianae sac. *E. E.* VIII, 472: Dianae T. d. d.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 8071 (5).

(6) *Atti Terra di Lavoro* 1895, 26 = *N. S.* 1895, 233: Dextro Dextri aeditui et Campaniae Albinae filio Duronio a basilica cum suis uixit *etc.* Stein, *Jahresb. über die Fortschr. der klass. Albert.* CXLIV (1909) 241.

(7) *C. I. L.* XII, 1705 = D. 3242: Dianae Tifatinae... M. Iccius Mummius. Cp. Cesano *loc. cit.* Other inscriptions cited to attest Diana's cult are probably spurious. Cp. *C. I. L.* X, 446,* 447,* 444.*

The Diana cult has also left its traces in a small shrine discovered in the remains of a building excavated near S. Angelo in Formis. Here facing the east appeared a painted image of the divinity, while on a wall to the right was portrayed a deer. This was assigned by Fiorelli to the beginning of the period of decadence and more exactly by Minervini and Cesano to the third century A. D. With the goddess are depicted a bow and an arrow, an animal skin and a torch; more noticeable is her triple crown comprising a wreath of laurel on her temples within which occur successively a gold diadem with nine serpent-like projections and a circular nimbus. Here she is conceived as a huntress as a result of Greek influence, and is assimilated to the form of Artemis. But the old nature goddess of the forests, originally venerated on the mountain, was rather a protectress of wild animals than a destroyer. At the same time the figure of Diana herself perhaps was intended to reproduce accurately the cult-statue of the neighboring temple; hence as the only painted likeness of this deity, the picture of the little shrine has considerable importance (1).

Terra-cotta antefixes from this region, now preserved in the Museo Campano at Capua, represent Diana lightly clad, riding upon a galloping steed. Her long hair falls over her shoulders, and one hand holds a bow, while the other guides her speeding horse. Below is seen the figure of a goose. Another terra-cotta figure shows the goddess holding by the paws two wild animals either lions or panthers. In both cases she retains her original significance as a patron of animal life (2). Priests of Diana are represented in mosaics found at S. Angelo in 1876, and now in the Museo Campano (3).

(1) Fiorelli, *N. S.* 1877, 116, Cesano, Ruggiero II, 1731; Birt, *Diana*, Roscher I, 1006; Wissowa, *Diana*, P.-W. V, 327; Minervini, *Di alcune antichità di Tifata* in *Commentationes philol. in honorem Mommseni* 660 and *Atti Terra di Lavoro* 1877, 42.

(2) F. Lenormant, *Diane Tifatine* in *Gazette archéologique* VII (1881-82) 82; Paris, *Diana*, D.-S. II, 155, Fig. 2395.

(3) Beloch 365; Mancini, *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei* n. s. III, 239.

JUPITER.

In the early days the name Jupiter was doubtless given to a considerable number of more or less vaguely conceived divinities, who were supposed to have some connection with light and the open sky. They were distinguished from one another by the addition of a qualifying epithet, which would usually be the most important part of the name. As time went on there was naturally a tendency to identify some of these with similar Jupiters and by this process of syncretism to reduce the total number. Our information on this subject goes back as far as the third century B. C., which has left us a number of inscriptions written in Oscan that pertain to Jupiter worship (1). As a class, they contain the word *iouilae* (*invilas*), the exact force of which is unknown, although it is clearly connected with the sphere of religion. It seems to be a technical name applied to some kind of offering made to the Oscan god Jupiter. Such gifts were made by individuals and by several persons jointly as members of the family or *gens*. They seem to have been dedicated regularly at festivals and sacred seasons such as the *Iouiae* or feast of Jupiter and the Martian Ides, which were celebrated with sacrifice or banquet. The exact nature of the offering is somewhat uncertain, but it is now considered to have been the representation of coats of arms designed for dedication either at graves or in a sacred grove or temple. The material is usually stone but in some cases is cheap terra-cotta work. Etruscan influence has been suggested by Conway but rejected in favor of a belief in a native Italian custom (2).

In these inscriptions gods are seldom mentioned. The term *Vesullias*, which sometimes occurs is probably not an allusion to a group of goddessess. In fact the only one of the inscriptions that clearly refers to a divinity is a dedication to Jupiter Flagius (*Iuvei Flagivi*), which in its details has been variously translated (3). According to its text *iouilae* of the customary sort were offered to a certain Jupiter by members of the gens Caesillii.

(1) Buck, *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* p. 247; Conway, *Italic Dialects* I, p. 101 f.

(2) Conway, *Ancient Italy* in Hastings *Encyclopedia* VII, 458.

(3) Conway, *op. cit.* pag. 110.

The terra-cotta contains also upon its faces as emblems three wheels of the three-spoked variety and a boar (1). The exact nature of the god is unknown, but he was doubtless akin to the Jupiters who had such distinguishing epithets as Fulgur and Fulgurator and to the Jupiter Flazzus or Flazius who is mentioned in an inscription of uncertain origin (2). Thus he was connected with the lightning and the sky (3). Because these dedications were offered at graves, von Planta identifies this Jupiter with Dis Pater, regarding him as a chthonic divinity; Jordan considered the identification already proposed as uncertain (4).

Numismatic evidence for Jupiter goes back at least as far as the inscriptions just cited; in fact many bronze, silver and electrum coins of the third century B. C., when the government was largely autonomous, bear witness to the influence of this god. A silver eight obol piece assigned by A. Sambon to about 263 B. C. and by Häberlin to the period 213-211, bears upon one side an eagle and upon the other the laurel crowned head of the god. A series of bronze coins, belonging chiefly to the second half of the third century, exhibit the Jupiter head with laurel wreath, the profiles of Jupiter and Juno together, and finally Jupiter riding in a swift chariot (5). Toward the close of the same period he is seen in a similar attitude on the reverse of an electrum piece, and again garlanded with laurel upon coins of bronze (6). In addition to this money of a purely Oscan character a quantity of silver coins with the legend in Latin show upon the reverse a likeness of Jupiter in his chariot. But, although these coins are generally assigned to the mint at

(1) Buck, No. 25 = Conway, No. 108 = von Planta, No. 138.

(2) See p. 396.

(3) Buck p. 249; Conway; 1, p. 109, 110; Corssen, *Commentationes epigraphicae tres* in *E. E.* II, p. 162; Minervini, *Atti Terra di Lavoro* 1873, 99; Bücheler, *Jenäer Litteraturzeitung* I (1874) 609 (not accessible to me); Aust, *Iuppiter*, Roscher II, 641; Wissowa 121.

(4) Von Planta, *Gramm. der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte* II, p. 635; Preller-Jordan I, 191 (3); Cp. Conway I, 110, 110 (1).

(5) A. Sambon 392, Nos. 1021-1023, 1025, 1032, 1037. Cp. Head 34 and Häberlin, *Die Systematik des ältesten röm. Münzwesens* 10, who attribute the silver coinage to the period 213-211 B. C. Poole 81 f; Garrucci 88; and. Pl. LXXXVI.

(6) A. Sambon 405, Nos. 1050-1052.

Capua, they bear the name of Rome and should be studied in connection with that city rather than here (1).

Another evidence for the presence of Jupiter appears in the name, *Porta Iouis*, applied to one of the principal entrances to the city. Its location is unknown, but it served as a means of ingress for the Roman armies that had been besieging the city in 211 B. C. The theory was held by some antiquarians that through it passed a road leading to a temple of Jupiter, but proofs for this view are lacking (2). Nissen thinks that it was situated in the eastern wall of the city, whence a road led to the shrine of Jupiter Tifatinus (3).

Daniele believed that this road was in the vicinity of the place where an inscription mentioning Jupiter Liber or Liber(tas) was found. Dated in the year 15 A. D., it records the names of six *magistri* who had had charge of the cult. Although there is no earlier evidence for this form of the god at Capua, he was undoubtedly a primitive deity worshipped by the old Italian residents here as in other places especially among the Sabellians. He was a god of marked physical vigor appealing strongly to an agricultural population (4). Perdrizet calls him « the great god of Capua » but this statement seems an exaggeration (5).

A rural deity Jupiter Compagus was worshipped in the *pagus Herculaneus*. His cult was in the hands of twelve overseers according to the custom of the time; in the year 94 B. C. they were devoting the funds of the *pagus* to the construction of a portico (6). Nothing more is known about him, as no-

(1) Häberlin, *Die Systematik des ältesten röm. Münzwesens* 6 f; A. Sambon 421.

(2) Daniele, *Del culto di Giove, di Diana, e di Ercole presso de' Campani* in *Miscellanea Bonghi* 70; Pellegrino *Apparato alle antichità di Capua* I, discorso II, 383; Beloch 346; Liv. XXVI, 14.

(3) Nissen, *It. Landesk*, II, 716. See below p. 333.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 3786=Vaglieri 2103. Wissowa 120; Aust, Roscher II, 637; Preller-Jordan I, 195.

(5) Perdrizet, *Jupiter*, D.-S. III, 709.

(6) *C. I. L.* X, 3772=D. 6302=Vaglieri 2094: Pagus Herculaneus sciuit a. d. X Terminalia: conlegium seiue magistrei louei Compagei sunt utei in porticum paganam reficiendam pequniam consumerent ex lege pagana, arbitratu Cn. Laetori Cn. f. magistrei pageiei (sic), uteique ei conlegio seiue ma-

where else is a Jupiter Compagus mentioned. The old scholar Mazzocchi in his extended commentary on the inscription maintained without good reason that the god belonged not to the pagus Herculaneus, which ought to worship Hercules, but to another district otherwise unnamed, where Jupiter was the chief god (1).

Still another variation is seen in the title Jupiter Vesuvius, who had his seat upon the well known volcano. Veneration for this deity probably went back to the era of its early activity, and the remembrance of his power lingered through the long period while it was dormant. He was worshipped generally in the country surrounding the volcano, but evidence is at hand for his cult only at Capua, perhaps one of the farthest points to which his influence extended. He is named in an inscription of the Imperial period (2).

Several inscriptions refer to the god without any qualifying epithet. An altar of uncertain date but belonging to about the beginning of the first century B. C., when the *magistri* of the shrines flourished, bears the warning that no one should whitewash over it. To the same era (84 B. C.) belongs another mutilated inscription in which the *magistri* constructed for Jupiter a tank or cistern. The shrine to which reference is made is uncertain (3). Other epigraphical remains pertaining to this god include a brief dedication by M. Ennius Vtilis and a

gistri sunt Iouei Compagei locus in teatro esset tam qua sei sei (sic) ludos fecissent. (Followed by names of *magistri* and consuls.). Cp. R. Peter, *Jovius Compagus* (?), Roscher II, 296.

(1) Mazzocchi, *Commentarii in Campani amphitheatri titulum* in *Miscellanea Bonghi* 101 f. Mazzocchi's view is approved by Daniele, *Monete antiche di Capua* 96. That this form of the god arose from the Jupiter Flagius mentioned above, as claimed by F. Lenormant is improbable. *Ceres*, D.-S. I. 1062.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 3806=D. 3079=Vaglieri 1123: loui Vesuuio sac. d. d. Beloch 216. Cp. Waldstein and Shoobridge, *Herculaneum* 97; Cocchia, *La forma del Vesuvio nelle pitture e descrizioni antiche* in *Atti Nap.* XXI (1901) part I, 5 and *Rend. Nap.* XIII (1899) 47.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 3785=Vaglieri 2104: loui sacrum; hanc aram ne quis dealbet. *E. E.* VIII, 473=*N. S.* 1889, 114=Vaglieri 2098: .....heisc.) mag. lacum Iouei de stipe et de sua pequn. faciund. coerauer. (Preceded by names of the *magistri* and followed by those of the consuls.).

large altar with the word *Manes* on one side, *sacrum* on the front, and *Ioui* on the other side (1). The combination of Jupiter with the Manes is odd, and Conway suggests that the word *Ioui* may be not a reference to the god but an abbreviation for the *gens Iouia*. Mommsen conjectured that one side referred to a tomb, the other to an altar of the god, but admitted the strangeness of the combination. It does not seem possible that Jupiter Flagius or any other form of the god previously encountered was a chthonic deity. Most likely the god who is meant here is equivalent to Vediouis or to the Pluto who in another inscription from Capua is substituted for the Manes, and who here may be used like the Greek Zeus Chthonios (2).

The cult of Jupiter Tifatinus having its seat on or near Mt. Tifata is not mentioned in ancient literature nor in inscriptions. But since the place where his shrine stood seems to be referred to in the *Tabula Peutingerana* under the appellation of Iouis Tifatinus, this notice may be regarded as an indication of wide celebrity at one time. There is, however, no certainty for the view stated by Nissen that the *Porta Iouis* derived its name from this god (3). The shrine has been variously located. According to one opinion it stood upon the summit of the mountain, where now rises the chapel of S. Nicola (4); according to another view it was located south of the mountain on the plain where now stands the monastic church of S. Pietro in Piedimonte near Caserta. Daniele asserted that the columns of this church and many marbles and columns of the Cathedral of Caserta came from the Jupiter temple. Pratilli claimed that the presence of the ancient shrine had greatly affected the local nomenclature, and a village in the vicinity called Casagiova or Casa nova may perhaps perpetuate the

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 3801; Ioui sacr. M. Ennius Vtilis; *C. I. L.* X, 3802 = Vaglieri 1101.

(2 Conway, *The Italic Dialects* I, 110 (1); Mommsen, comment on this inscription. Cp. R. Peter, *Dis Pater* Roscher I, 1186; Wissowa 236-237.

(3) Nissen II, 716.

(4) Desjardins, *La table de Peut.* 195, Col. I and Pl. V. *C. I. L.* X, p. 59, No. 9. Cp. Bädeker, *Southern Italy and Sicily* (15) 9.

ancient tradition (1). Beloch wished to locate the temple farther west and nearer Capua at no great distance from S. Prisco, but he was influenced in part at least by the erroneous supposition that this temple was identical with the *Capitolium* of Capua (2).

Other atter pts made by local antiquarians to identify the sites of supposed Jupiter temples, as that of Pratilli to establish a temple of Iupiter Tonans, have nothing to recommend them (3). Several other forms of Jupiter such as Olbius Sabaeus, which Iannelli attempted to explain, depend upon spurious inscriptions published by Pratilli and others (4).

CERES.

Another important deity of the Capuan territory was Ceres, who was worshipped in the early centuries of the city's history by the primitive inhabitants before the arrival of any influences from either the Greeks or the Romans. The earliest evidence that she was recognized here goes back no farther than the third century B. C., when she had long been exposed to the influence of the Greek Demeter. At that time she was employed to mark a series of coins, where her head is crowned with ears of grain (5).

The goddess is next mentioned in a long Oscan inscription, assigned to the third or to the first half of the second century B. C., which was discovered in the necropolis of Capua. This contains several examples of the expression *Keri arentiķai*, which is interpreted as equivalent to *Ceres Vltrix* (6). Written

(1) Daniele, *Misc. Bonghi* 74; Pratilli, *Della Via Appia* 277, who speaks of a *Fontana di Giove* and a *Campo di Jove* as well as a *Casa Jove;* Corcia, *Storia delle due Sicilie* II, 76. Cp. A. Sambon 392; Raoul-Rochette, *Notice sur les fouilles de Capoue* in *Jour. des savants* 1853, 283.

(2) Beloch 360.

(3) Pratilli, *op. cit.* 287. Refuted by Daniele 69.

(4) Iannelli, *Atti Terra di Lavoro* 1892, 22.

(5) A. Sambon 393, 397, No. 1027; Head 35; Garrucci 89.

(6) Buck, No. 19= Conway, No. 130= von Planta, No. 128; Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae,* No. 193. The Oscan name of the goddess occurs only in the dative. Cp. Bücheler, *Rh. Mus.* XXXIII (1878) 1; Bugge, *Altitalische Studien* 57; Bréal, *Revue critique* n. s. V. (1878) 90; Audollent, *op. cit.*

upon a leaden tablet, this inscription is in substance a curse and belongs to that class of imprecations which were placed in graves because of their reputed efficacy as potent charms. Although a large part has been destroyed and the sense is often uncertain, the purport of the whole seems to be that a certain woman Vibia, because she has been deprived of some person or thing, consigns her enemy Pacius Clouatius and perhaps also his relatives to condign punishment and retribution. She hopes that he may be tortured in the existence beyond the grave and that his body may have no rest in the tomb through the instrumentality of the avenging goddess. She has the same relative position in the matter of curses that Demeter held in Greece, particularly at Cnidos, where the shrine of that goddess has yielded examples testifying to her power (1).

As an agricultural deity Ceres was undoubtedly popular in this region. A shrine, which was probably located in one of the rural districts, is mentioned in an inscription bearing the date of 106 B. C. It was under the control of *magistri,* the list of whom in this case shows thirteen names instead of the usual twelve. On this occasion they erected a wall and a *pluteus* and celebrated games; two years later they were engaged in similar activity (2). As in other parts of Campania the priesthood of Ceres must have been regarded as one of the highest of its kind and sought accordingly by the ladies of the first families. Three inscriptions have left a record of this priesthood, and have preserved the names of two incumbents of the office, - Icuria and Herennia (3). The former of these women bears the title *sacerdos Cerialis mundialis* in which the chthonic character of the goddess shown in the Oscan inscription is again manifested. This title then is in harmony with the al-

257, No. 193; Paschal, *La tavola osca di esecrazione* in *Rend. Nap.* VIII (1894) 128 f.

(1) Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae* 5 f.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 3779=D. 3340=Vaglieri 2097. Cp. *C. I. L.* X, 3778 of the same year. *C. I. L.* X, 3780=D. 3341. (The *magistri* in this case are *ingenui*).

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 3926=Vaglieri, 2092. Icuria M. f. sacerdos Cerialis mundialis d. s. p. f. c. *C. I. L.* X, 3911, a fragment.

legation of Festus that the Roman *mundus* was consecrated to Ceres (1).

According to Pratilli the temple of this divinity was located at a spot near Mt. Tifata, which was called *Casa Cerere* in thirteenth and fourteenth century documents, and where statues and inscriptions have been found. This identification was favored by Raoul-Rochette and is perhaps correct (2).

JUNO.

The earliest record of this goddess appears upon a large number of bronze coins which are dated in the third century B. C.; here she either is united with Jupiter as already indicated or is represented alone, having a crown upon her head and a scepter on her shoulder (3). Whether the employment of this design was due to an important local cult or to a desire to honor upon this money one of the important Roman deities is unknown. There is no reason, however, to doubt the presence of an early cult here not only during the domination of the Etruscans but also during the period preceding it (4).

A cult of Juno Gaura is proved by an interesting inscription of 71 B. C. pertaining to one of the rural districts. It records some action taken by the board of overseers controlling the shrine perhaps in regard to a slave of this goddess, but the brevity of form does not permit the meaning to be definitely determined (5). This cult is naturally associated with Mt. Gaurus, now Monte Barbaro, which is situated at the southern edge of

(1) Festus 142M= Lindsay's ed. p. 126. Macrob. (*sat.* I, 16, 17) on the other hand states that the *mundus* was sacred to Dis Pater and Proserpina. Pestalozza e Chiesa, *Ceres* Ruggiero II, 205; Henzen, *Bull. Inst.* 1857, 187; Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. V (1857) 91.

(2) Pratilli, *Della Via Appia* 280; Corcia, *op. cit.* II, 74; Raoul-Rochette, *op. cit.* 286; Beloch 367.

(3) A. Sambon 392, 401, Nos. 1038-1040, 1048; Head 35; Garrucci 88 f.; Poole 83.

(4) Cp. for a contrary opinion W. F. Otto, *Iuno* in *Philologus* LXIV (1905) 173 and see p. 294.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 3783=*C. I. L.* I, 573=D. 6303=Vaglieri 2099: Heisce magistr. ex pagei scitu in seruom Iunonis Gaurae contule. (Preceded by a list of *magistri* and followed by the consuls). The meaning of this inscription is discussed by Schulten, *De conventibus civium Romanorum* 74 (1).

the Campanian plain a short distance from Puteoli. Although Mommsen assigned the cult of Juno Gaura to Capua, he rejected the view that she was connected with that mountain on the ground that it was not a part of the Capuan territory. Cicero, however, counted it as a part of the state domain, and the place called Hamae mentioned by Livy, which Beloch located on its slope, was considered by the Capuans as under their jurisdiction (1). Yet, however this may be, it is not essential that the mountain should be in the same jurisdiction as the cult. The goddess, whose seat was located there, was worshipped in one of the Campanian *pagi* just like the Jupiter of Mt. Vesuvius. Otto maintains that this cult like all worship of Juno in Campania was due to Roman infiuence and not a native development (2). But in this case we would expect to find a Juno cult recognized by the Romans rather than one connected with an obscure local mountain. In fact such a cult as this, which points to a development at an early period when only the limited local influences were at work has the best indications of great age. The fact of its survival amid the competition presented by cults undoubtedly new is a proof of original importance.

On the other hand the Juno Lucina, who is mentioned in an inscription of the Republican period, inscribed upon a pyramidal altar, may be an importation, although the inscription itself which records her is old. The words *Tuscolana sacra,* which follow the name of the goddess, are not well understood. According to one interpretation the dedication was made to Juno Lucina of Tusculum by some Roman colonist originally of that region, who wished to keep up relations with one of the leading divinities of his native land. According to another interpretation sacred rites were performed with the ceremonies adopted at Tusculum (3). A similar altar was dedicated to another divinity honored with similar rites, but his identity can no longer

(1) Cic. *leg. agr.* II, 36; Liv. XXIII, 35; Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, 3783; Beloch 16; Otto *Philologus* LXIV (1905) 173-174; Nissen II, 736.

(2) Otto *loc. cit.*

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 3807=D. 3099=Vaglieri 1099: Iunone Loucina Tuscolana sacra. Ritschl, *Priscae latinitatis monumenta epigraphica* XXXVI, and p. 30.

be determined (1). Minervini believed that the pyramidal form of the altar indicated phallic worship and that the divinities recognized here were both concerned with generation (2).

VENUS IOVIA.

The worship of Venus Iouia was carried on by one of the *pagi* whose *magistri*, consisting of twelve *ingenui*, constructed a stretch of wall and celebrated games in 108 B. C. (3). Nothing further is known about this particular deity, who was probably a survival from the Oscan era. That she was a transformation of an old Oscan goddess Vesuna or Vesolia, and was worshipped along with either Ceres or Juno Lucina in the Roman period as believed by F. Lenormant, is not a probable supposition and has no evidence to support it. But it is likely that she was some form of Venus and not a Juno, as is stated by Beloch (4). Pratilli as usual was ready to locate a temple, and this time declared that it stood near the ancient Forum in the eastern part of the present market place of S. Maria (5).

THE MOTHER GODDESS OF THE FONDO PATTURELLI

Whatever uncertainty may exist about the age of Juno's cult at Capua or even about that of Venus Iouia, there can be none in regard to the worship of another goddess who has never been definitely identified. Her shrine was situated to the east of the ancient city just outside the walls and not far from the course of the *uia Appia*. Remains consisting of a podium of tufa blocks, upon which still stood a small altar, were discovered in 1845 upon the estate of the Patturelli family lying near the

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 3808=D. 3099a.

(2) Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. VII (1858) 18.

(3) C. *I. L.* X, 3776=D. 3185=Vaglieri 2102: Heisce magistreis Venerus Iouiae murum aedificandum coirauerunt ped. CCLXX et loidos fecerunt. (Preceded by the names of the *magistri* and dated by the mention of the consuls). Ritschl. LXIIIa; C. *I. L.* X, 3777=*E. E.* VIII 460.

(4) F. Lenormant, *La grande Gréce* I, 405 and *Ceres*, D.-S. I, 1062; Beloch 331.

(5) Pratilli, *Della Via Appia* 288. He claims for this site the discovery of a statue and a pedestal marked *Venus Felix*. Cp. Raoul-Rochette, *Jour. des savants* 1853, 287.

village of Le Curti between S. Pasquale and the Carceri Vecchie. The owner of the property, however, after making hasty sketches of the walls immediately destroyed them. At a later time excavations were made here, which yielded a great wealth of votive offerings as well as fragments of inscriptions written chiefly in Oscan. The result of all the discoveries indicates that an important cult had its seat here, and that it flourished in very early times (1).

According to Koch, who has attempted the restoration of the podium and other architectural details of the temple, there was a rebuilding sometime after 300 B. C., which followed the styles of the Hellenistic period but exemplified some peculiarities not elsewhere paralleled (2). At that time the terra-cotta ornaments of the original building were buried in the surrounding land (3). During the era of Oscan predominance the cult must have had a great vogue, if we are to judge from the vast number of votive offerings. Yet since these are uniformly of a cheap and simple character, the patrons of the shrine seem to have belonged chiefly to the lower classes. The latest evidence for its existence appears in the discovery of three small images with inscriptions in Latin, which have been assigned to the age of Sulla (4). They are all of the same type, - a seated woman holding children in her arms; they were dedicated by women who have failed to indicate in any way the name of the deity they were honoring (5). Perhaps the shrine gradually declined in

(1) Mancini, *Giornale degli scavi di P.* N. s. III, 217 f.; Raoul-Rochette, *Notice sur les fouilles de Capoue* in *Jour. des savants* 1853 291; von Duhn, *Necropoli e santuario di Capua* in *Bull. Inst.* 1876, 177; 1878, 13; Lenormant, *Gazette des beaux arts* XXI (1880) 115; Beloch 353 f.; Koch, *Hellenistiche Architekturstücke in Capua* in *Röm. Mitth.* XXII (1907) 361 f. with full references to early literature.

(2) Koch, *op. cit* 365. Cp. Cosenza, *Stabia* 122.

(3) For a different explanation see Lenormant, *Diane Tifatine* in *Gaz. arch.* VII (1881-2) 82.

(4) Altmann, *Die röm. Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit* 138. These figures are described and illustrated in *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen* of the Royal Museum of Berlin, Nos. 161-167 and Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* I, 147.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 3817: Quarta Confleia u. s. m. X, 3818 and 3819 are fragmentary.

popularity after the Roman occupation; at any rate the whole property was finally abandoned and then occupied by graves like the rest of the tract round about the walls (1). Besides the podium and the remains of altars an *aedicula* was discovered which with its foundations and columns was made from a single block of tufa (2).

Unquestionably a goddess was worshipped here either with or without other divinities. Since the temple seemed to stand in the midst of a necropolis, von Duhn maintained that the goddess should be considered as a chthonic deity who received unto herself the souls of the departed (3). More likely, however, the shrine had no such relation to the dead, but became surrounded by graves with the lapse of time. Among the countless votive images of terra-cotta the prevailing type was that of a matron seated upon a chair with one or more children upon her knees and in her arms. The inference naturally follows that we have here to do with a goddess of motherhood, who presided over birth and protected young children, - an example of the *Nutrix* or *Kourotrophos* (4). Dieterich saw in this deity an example of the goddess who was worshipped as an earth-mother (5). One small statue of marble, representing a standing matron with a child in her arms, has sometimes been considered to be the cult statue, but this identification is not probable (6).

The name of the occupant of this temple remains unknown. Some scholars have thought that it belonged to Juno Lucina, and Conway, referring to the character of the dedications,

(1) Koch, *loc. cit.* and 411, 414. Cp. Beloch 355; von Duhn, *Necropoli e santuario di Capua* in *Bull. Inst.* 1876, 182, who assigns these offerings to the period of the Flavian Emperors.

(2) Koch 389; Altmann *loc. cit.*

(3) von Duhn 180 f.

(4) von Wilamowitz, *Bull. Inst.* 1873, 146; Gurlitt, *Petauer Antiken* in *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitt. aus Oester.*; XIX (1896) 18; Wissowa 260 (1); Koch 412 f.; Beloch 356; Preuner, *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Alterthumsw.* XXV (1891) 439; Altmann *op. cit.* 138; Biardot, *Les terres-cuites grecques funébres* 336; Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* I, CXV (4).

(5) Dieterich, *Mutter Erde* (2) 79.

(6) von Duhn, *Bull. Inst.* (1878), 13; Gurlitt, *loc. cit.*

regards the identification as certain (1). There has likewise been a tendency recently revived by Koch, to consider that a goddess Damia was worshipped here, who in reality was no other than the Roman Bona Dea, as has been already stated in the chapter on Puteoli. In the Oscan inscriptions found in the vicinity the terms *damu....*, *damuse....*, and *damsennias* may refer to offerings or ceremonies connected with a goddess Damia (2). Guidobaldi, who was a pioneer in making the identification between Damia and Bona Dea, believed that *Damuse* referred to a priestess (3). If this cult really existed here, it probably came from Tarentum and so this city may have formed an intermediate point on the road which it followed to reach Rome (4). The goddess seems to have been originally very much like Ceres. Whether the two Oscan words *Diuvia* and *damu....* should be read together, as was done by most of the earlier scholars, and considered as a name for the divinity corresponding to the Latin *Iouia Damusa* is uncertain (5). Other scholars as Hild and Wissowa, comparing the known characteristics of this divinity with those of Fortuna are inclined to decide that she too may be a Fortuna, - a theory that seems the most probable of those offered hitherto for the explanation of this cult (6).

It is furthermore uncertain that a triad of Oscan deities was worshipped here as is claimed by some scholars. Thus Lenormant, believing in the existence of Iouia Damusa, maintained that with her were associated her two children Jupiter Flagius

(1) Mancini, *op. cit.* 236 f.; Conway, *The Italic Dialects* I, p. 109. He thinks that she may have shared her shrine with Jupiter, as Zeus was worshipped with Hera at Dodona. (Strab. VI, 7, 12).

(2) Buck, Nos. 24, 31b. Cp. Festus 68M=Lindsay's ed. p. 360, for *damium* expressing a sacrifice to Bona Dea, and *Damia* for the deity's name.

(3) Guidobaldi, *Damia o buona dea* 2 f.; Cp. Saglio, *Damia*, D.-S. II, 21.

(4) Gruppe 370; F. Lenormant, *Ceres*, D.-S. I, 1076.

(5) Lenormant, *Ceres*, D.-S. I, 1062; R. Peter, *Damia*, Roscher I, 944; Bücheler, *Oskische Bleitafel* in *Rh. Mus.* XXXIII (1878) 71 f.; Cp. Bugge *Altitalische Studien* 12; Corssen *E. E.* p. 161, No. 10 and *Zeitschr. für vergleichende Sprachforschung* XI (1862) 322.

(6) Wissowa, 260 (1); Hild, *Fortuna*, D.-S. II, 1270; Otto, *Fortuna*, P.-W. VII, 25; Altmann, *Die röm. Grabaltäre* 138.

and Vesolia (1). But it has not been established that the former was worshipped here, as we do not know the exact spot where the inscription naming him was found, and there is no real evidence for a goddess Vesolia, or Vesuna in the extant material (2).

MARS.

The term *Mamerttiais* (Martiis) applied in one instance to the Ides of the month and probably used generally in connection with festivals in honor of the god Mars occurs repeatedly in the Oscan *iouilae* inscriptions of the third century B. C. (3). These form the earliest evidence for his influence at Capua. Although he is employed regularly as a design upon bronze coins of the Romano-Campanian issues, he does not appear upon the city's autonomous coinage. He had a temple, which was struck by lightning in the year 208 B. C., an event that was considered as one of the many evil omens of the time (4). Raoul-Rochette, citing Pratilli, is inclined to believe in a tradition that the site of this temple was selected by Constantine for the Christian basilica which that monarch erected at Capua, but Pratilli asserts only that the place was sacred to Mars or some other god (5). Nothing is known about the worship of Mars, but it seems to have been one of the old cults of native origin.

(1) Lenormant, *Ceres*, D.-S. I, 1062; *Diane Tifatine* in *Gaz. arch.* VII (1881-82); *La grande Grèce* I, 405; *Deux nouvautés archéologiques de la Campanie* in *Gaz. des beaux arts* XXI (1880) 120.

(2) Conway, *It. Dialects*, I, No. 120. Cp. Nos. 109, 110 and p. 110; Corssen, *E. E.* p. 161, No. 11. Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. II (1854) 167 thinks that the old Italian goddess Feronia is meant here. If the temple belonged to Damia, there would be nothing improbable in the idea that a triad received honor here. At Sparta indeed Damia was worshipped along with Zeus Taletitas and a goddess Auxesia, and at Aegina and Epidaurus, with the latter alone. Cp. Kern, *Damia*, P.-W. IV, 2054.

(3) Buck p. 247, Nos 27, 28, 29. See p. 329 above, and cp. Roscher., *Mars*, II, 2394.

(4) Liv. XXVII, 23, 2: Capuae duas aedes Fortunae et Martis et sepulchra aliquot de caelo tacta.

(5) Pratilli, *Della Via Appia* 275; Raoul-Rochette; *Jour. des savants*, 1853, 287-8.

FORTUNA.

The cult of Fortuna, who seems to have been another old deity of this region, is first heard of at the close of the third century B. C. Among the list of prodigies for the year 209 B. C. Livy states that the wall and temple of Fortuna at Capua were struck by lightning, and the next year, when the temple of Mars was also struck, declares that this shrine along with a number of tombs suffered a similar mishap (1). Pratilli claims to have found evidence for the continued survival of the names of this shrine and that of Mars in a document of the monastery of S. Angelo dated 1148 (2). As stated above, the mother goddess who had a sanctuary near the city (Fondo Patturelli) has been identified by some scholars as a Fortuna similar in nature to the one at Praeneste and perhaps at Antium (3). On Oscan coins a Tyche or Fortuna seems to be represented by a female head that is encircled with a notched coronet (4). Furthermore this goddess was revered in one of the *pagi*, where she has a shrine along with Spes and Fides. In the year 110 B. C. the *magistri*, who were probably all *ingenui*, are reported as building a wall. Other details of the cult are lacking (5).

CASTOR AND POLLUX.

Within the city itself there is no direct reference to the cult of Castor and Pollux. In the year 340 B. C., however, a bronze tablet was placed in the Roman temple of these deities to commemorate the services rendered to the cause of Rome by the Capuan aristocracy, whence Jordan inferred that the Twins were accepted as patrons by the equites in this city as

(1) Liv. XXVII, 11, 2; Tacta de caelo erant..... et Capuae murus Fortunaeque aedis. Liv. XXVII, 23, 2, See above p. 342 (4).

(2) *Finis ecclesia S. Nicolai ad Fortunam* and *Campu S. Marci*. Pratilli, *Della Via Appia* 288, Corcia *Storia delle due Sicilie* II, 72.

(3) Hild, *Fortuna*, D.-S. II, 1269. See p. 341.

(4) A. Sambon 397, Nos. 1028, 1035, 1036.

(5) C. *I. L.* X, 3775=D. 3770=Vaglieri 2101: Heisc mag. Spei, Fidei, Fortunae murum faciund, coirauere. (Preceded by names of *magistri* and dated by the mention of the consuls).

in Rome (1). Furtwängler erroneously speaks of their cult as though it had been introduced here and elsewhere in Campania from Rome (2). But it was rather brought in at an early date from the Greek settlements on the coast. Albert incorrectly compares the introduction of their cult to the arrival of Zeus, Hera and Artemis; for in the latter case the Greek gods were assimilated to pre-existing Italian ones, while in the former they probably preserved their identity unimpaired (3). The Dioscuri were certainly worshipped in at least one of the rural *pagi* surrounding the city, and possessed a shrine under the control of *magistri*, who in the year 106 B. C. were engaged in the construction of a wall, besides providing games to amuse their constituents (4). The inscription recording this fact was found in the plain of S. Leucio near the church of S. Erasmo just west of the ancient city limits; here in Pratilli's time extensive remains of a large building still survived, which that writer declared to have belonged to the temple of these gods (5). A further evidence for the location of the temple in this vicinity may be derived from the circumstance that a church consecrated to S. Erasmo was built here. The functions ascribed to the Twin Brethren and to this saint whose name became corupted to S. Elmo, were similar; he too was regarded as a saviour on the sea, and would naturally in this spot receive the homage once consecrated to the Dioscuri (6).

Another inscription seven years later than the first, which

(1) Liv. VIII, 11, 16: Equitibus Campanis ciuitas Romana data, monumentoque ut aeneam tabulam in aede Castoris Romae finxerunt. Preller-Jordan II 301. Cp. Bethe, *Dioscuren*, P.-W. V, 1104.

(2) Furtwängler, *Dioskuren*, Roscher I, 1169.

(3) Albert, *Etude sur le culte de Castor et Pollux* 47.

(4) C. *I. L.* X, 3778=C. *I. L.* I, 567=D. 3397=Vaglieri 2095: Heisce magistri Castor' et Polluci murum et pluteum faciendu, coerauere eidemque loedos fecerunt. (Preceded by the names of six *ingenui* and six *libertini* and followed by the names of the consuls).

(5) Pratilli, *op. cit.* 289. That this spot was the site of a temple was doubted by Raoul-Rochette *Journal des savants* 1853, 286 and by Beloch 353. Excavations on the site yielded little. Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. VI (1857) 22. Cp. Iannelli, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. VI (1857) 21; Albert *op. cit.* 47.

(6) Jaisle, *Die Dioskuren als Retter* 65, 69.

came from the vicinity of Mt. Tifata, states that their images in marble were placed in the temple of Diana. It offers not the least evidence, as believed by Furtwängler, for the location of a temple of the Dioscuri on that mountain (1).

Albert in his monograph treating these gods draws very strange conclusions from these inscriptions about the relations of the Romans to the local cult (2). In the first place he asserts that the Twins were Greek divinities up to the time of the First Punic War, but that after that date they should be regarded as Romanized. We may wonder, however, what particular influence that struggle in the middle of the third century B. C. exerted toward the strengthening of Roman power in Campania. He further states that the Romans in order better to mark their act of taking possession of Capua — presumably after the Second Punic War — instituted festivals on two occasions in honor of the twin deities and repaired their temple, which he identifies with the one described by Pratilli. In other words he maintains that the work of the *magistri* was all due to Roman initiative, and implies that they themselves were Roman officials. But it is strange that this activity should happen at the end of the second century B. C., so long after the event it was designed to commemorate. Again, such a view disregards entirely the doings of *magistri* connected with other shrines, whose work was on a level with that of the overseers of the Dioscuri, and who could equally well be attributed to Roman influence. As a matter of fact we are dealing with a local shrine of minor importance; neither the building operations of its *magistri* nor their games were of special significance. To assume that the Romans were fostering all the cults in connection with which games were given or shrines improved is to attribute to the conquerors a procedure that was far from natural. If these had felt any need for the gods of the vanquished, they might have introduced them at Rome, - a course that was not feasible in this instance, because the Dioscuri had long been recognized

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 3781. See p. 324 (4); Furtwängler, *Dioskuren*, Roscher I, 1169.

(2) Albert, *op. cit.* 65.

there (1). But there was no reason why they should minister either to the religious welfare or to the love of pleasure of the people of Capua, their rebellious subjects and haughty rivals. In short, Albert's treatment of this cult at Capua must be classed as completely erroneous.

HERCULES.

The oldest trace of the presence of Hercules is found upon a bronze cinerary urn which was unearthed at the village of S. Erasmo near S. Maria di Capua (2). This is a Greek work of superior quality belonging to the fifth or the end of the sixth century B. C.; although it was probably made in a factory of Cumae, it may be taken for granted that a knowledge of the god and of the legends in which he was the hero was well established in the district to which this vessel found its way (3). It contains a strip of decorative figures running around it, and these include among other animals the cattle of Geryon, which are accompanied by Hercules himself. The hero is armed with club, bow, and lion's skin, and looks toward the figure of a man who is tied to the limb of a tree by wrists and ankles. In this scene Hercules himself is not to be regarded as the thief of the cattle, but rather as having them already in his possession and warding off the attack of some foe such as Cacus or Erys, who has just met his doom (4). Probably some little

(1) The cult of the Volturnus River, if it had really been introduced into Rome from this region, would be a good example of the transfer of gods alluded to in the text.

(2) It is now in the British Museum, Protrayed in *Mon. Inst.* V. Pl. 25; *Ann. Inst.* XXIII (1851) add. Pl. A.; Walters *Cat. of the Bronzes in the British Museum* 80, No. 560.

(3) von Duhn, *Monumenti capuani* in *Ann. Inst.* LI (1879) 130; Helbig., *Sopra alcuni bronzi trovati a Cuma e a Capua* in *Ann. Inst.* LII (1880) 233; Furtwängler, *Archaische Lekythen* in *Arch. Zeit.* XLI (1883) 162; Walters in Münzer, *Cacus der Rinderdieb* 122; Smith, *Herakles and Geryon* in *Jour., Hell. Stud.* V (1884) 179.

(4) The suspended figure was identified as Cacus by Minervini, *Vaso di bronzo rinvenuto in S. Maria di Capua* in *Ann. Inst.* XXIII (1851) 36 f.; who is followed by Raoul-Rochette, *Jour. des savants* 1853, 473. R. Peter, *Hercules*, Roscher I, 2275; and Walters *loc. cit.* Wolters, *op. cit.* 123 thinks of Eryx. Cp. Wissowa, *Cacus*, P.-W. III, 1169; Winter, *The Myth of Hercules at Rome* in *Univ. of Michigan Studies* IV, 268; Birch, *Arch. Anzeiger* 1855, 61; Robert, *Hermes* XIX (1884) 480 (1).

known version of Hercules' adventures, which was circulated chiefly in Campania, is the theme of the decoration.

He appears upon two series of bronze coins with Oscan legend, which are dated in the third century B. C. The prevailing type is that of a beardless, heavy faced man wearing a crown, whose identity is fixed by the presence of a club (1). Sometimes upon the reverse is shown Cerberus, the dog of Hades, a design which Raoul-Rochette derived from the Cerberum near Cumae (2). Furthermore, the only one of the *pagi* whose name has been preserved was called *Herculaneus*. It contained a shrine of Jupiter, as stated above, but its location is unknown (3). Perhaps in it was also situated a shrine of Hercules himself, the *magistri* of which are mentioned in a badly mutilated inscription (4). Daniele speaks of a supposed temple in the vicinity of Caserta to the west of the ancient Capua, the remains of which were reported as still standing during the life time of Cardinal Santorio, an earlier writer. But in Daniele's day there was no longer any trace of them (5).

A short dedication by Sp. Suetrius to Hercules is assigned to an early date because of the absence of *cognomen* and the use of Spurius as a *praenomen* (6). Another dedication made by a family of the Nouelli addresses the god as *tutor*, an epithet not used elsewhere to designate him. It alludes, however, to the familiar significance of the god as protector of house and home. The monument consists of an altar with sculptured reliefs, which include Hercules and the lion, his club and his quiver (7). More important is an inscription belonging to the age of Augustus, which records that a certain freedman P. Ateius Regillus had thrice during his lifetime offered tithes to

(1) A. Sambon 402, Nos. 1044, 1045; Head 35

(2) Raoul-Rochette, *Jour. des savants* 1853, 694; L. Sambon, *Les Monn. de la presqu'ile it.* 171. Cp. A. Sambon, 393. The face upon one series, the obverse of which shows a lion holding a staff, was identified as that of Dionysus by Poole p. 84.

(3) See p. 331.

(4) *N. S.* 1893, 164. About half has been lost.

(5) Daniele, *Monete antiche di Capua* 89

(6) *C. I. L.* X, 3798; Sp. Suetrius Sp. f. H(ercoli) d. d. A fragment; (*C. I. L.* X, 3797) seems also to commemorate this god.

(7) *C. I. L.* X, 3799=D. 3443=Vaglieri 1091: Herculi tutori domus

Hercules (1). The same custom, which formed a well known detail of his cult at Rome, has left its traces in a few other Italian towns including Sora and Reate. The origin of the practice here and elsewhere is not clear. It was not a native custom belonging to the old Italic religion as maintained by Preller; for in that event other gods rather than Hercules would have been the recipients, since he was not an old deity of Italy (2). Instead it was derived at a late date from the Roman cult, after Roman influence became paramount in Campania. The Romans may have derived their idea of tithing from the Greeks, and in some way associated it with this god. An independent borrowing in Campania from the Greeks is practically excluded by the fact that the Greek Heracles rarely received this mark of honor. The inscriptions which mention the practice outside of Rome are too late in date to throw any light on its origin (3). Other inscriptions purporting to attest the worship of Hercules at Capua and cited by local historians are spurious. The god is represented along with his club and a cornucopia by terra-cotta images of rather rough workmanship, which were unearthed at the neighboring village of Curti (4).

THE CAMPANIAN MAGISTRI.

It now becomes necessary to consider more in detail the religious officials called magistri, who have appeared in a considerable number of the inscriptions already cited. The exact nature of the office filled by these men is disputed, but they

Nouelliana. Daniele *op. cit.* 92 gives a reproduction. Cp. Calza, *Domus*, Ruggiero II, 2059; Cesano, *Hercules*, Ruggiero III, 713; Peter, *Hercules*, Roscher I, 2958.

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 3956=D. 3413=Vaglieri 1084: P. Ateius P. I. Regillus fecit sibi et P. Ateio P. l. Saluio patron. pomario; is ter Herculi decumam fecit *etc.*

(2) Preller-Jordan II, 294. Cp. Peter, Roscher I, 2937; de Marchi, *Il culto privato* I, 295 (3).

(3) A discussion of tithing and a summary of opinion is given by Winter *op. cit.* 261; Cesano, *Hercules*, Ruggiero III, 697.

(4) Berlin Antiquarium, Nos. 7323, 7324; Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* II, 381, No. 7; Fernique, *Recentes acquisitions du Musée de Capoue* in *Rev. arch.* XXXIV (1877) 124; Furtwängler, *Herakles in der Kunst*, Roscher I, 2159.

were undeniably connected with the divisions of the people known as *pagi*. These according to ancient Italian usage were definite portions of a given rural territory formed for administrative purposes with officers who possessed a certain limited authority; like all other organizations that developed in the ancient world, they were essentially religious in character and had shrines for the performance of their religious duties. Furthermore, they were sometimes named after gods, a system of nomenclature exemplified by the pagus Herculaneus (1).

When the autonomous government of Capua was dissolved by the Romans after its recapture in 211 B. C., there was no longer a legally constituted local authority for the city or the outlying districts. All the various functions of government passed into the hands of the Roman people to be administered by their delegated representative. It has been suspected, however, that the old, essentially religious organizations of the *pagi* enlarged somewhat the sphere of their activity to meet the new conditions, and thereby preserved for the country some measure of self government (2). Corresponding to these organizations of the open country there existed within the walls for the city folk various *collegia* grouped around the principal trades and professions, one name of which has survived to the present day (3). Their basis too was a religious one. Although the evidence for the *magistri* belongs to the end of the second and the beginning of the first century B. C., there is no sign that they were introduced or fostered by Roman influence except so far as they were aided by the Romans who settled in this region and took up the worship of the gods of the land (4). They flourished at that time to meet local needs, probably gradually developing in importance from the close of the Han-

(1) Hazfeld, *Les Italiens résidant à Délos* in *Bull. corr. hell.* XXXVI (1912) 188; Schulten, *De conventibus civium Romanorum* 106; and *Die Landgemeinde im röm. Reiche* in *Philologus* LIII, (1894) 634 f.

(2) Mommsen in *C. I. L.* X, p. 366 and I, 159; Boak, *The « Magistri » of Campania and Delos* in *Classical Philology* XI (1916) 25; Kornemann, *De civibus Romanis in provinciis imperii consistentibus* 50 f.; Schulten, *De conventibus civium Romanorum* 71 f.; and *Philologus* LIII (1894) 634.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 3773.

(4) Albert, *Étude sur le culte de Castor et Pollux* 47. See p. 343 above.

nibalic War, and they retained their importance till the arrival of the Roman colonists (1).

The *magistri* or boards of supervisors, who are mentioned in the *pagi*, are always engaged in the oversight of a particular shrine. The various cults which they had in charge comprise those of Diana, Ceres, Jupiter Compagus, Jupiter Liber, Juno Gaura, Venus Jovia, Spes Fides and Fortuna, Castor and Pollux, and probably Hercules (2). They have left records of their activity for the period between 112-111 and 71 B. C. Their term of office seems to have been limited to a single year (3). Their number was regularly twelve; in one case thirteen names are recorded, but this oddity may be explained by the fact that a vacancy arose during the term of this body of supervisors and was filled by another appointment (4). The holders of the office did not always belong to the same social condition; out of a total of eleven references to the *magistri* five exhibit only *ingenui*, four show *libertini*, and two contain officials of both classes (5). In any case they were doubtless men of wealth, whose only opportunity for holding office at this time could be found among the *magistri* (6). In one inscriptions has been preserved the name and title of an official of a different sort, - the *ingenuus* Cn. Laetorius, *magister* of the *pagus Herculaneus*, who had the oversight over the expenditure of money voted by his district for the improvement of a shrine within its juris-

(1) Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 366; Schulten, *De conventibus civium Romanorum* 639.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 3772 f.; *E. E.* VIII, 460, 473; *N. S.* 1893, 164. A list of *magistri* is found in Walzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles* IV, 224.

(3) At any rate the composition of the board of *magistri* for Ceres changed between 106 and 104 B. C. (*C. I. L.* X, 3779, 3780).

(4) Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 367; Boak, *op. cit.* 31. The thirteen names occur in No. 3779.

(5) *Ingenui* are found in Nos. 3775, 3776 (*E. E.* VIII, 460) 3780, 3782, 3784; *Libertini* occur in 3772, 3779, 3785. *E. E.* VIII, 473. The two classes appear together twice, once in the proportion of six and six and once in the proportion of three and nine. (3778, 3783).

(6) Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 367; Boak, *op. cit.* 33; Cp. Hatzfeld, *op. cit.* 186.

diction. The sanctuary was that of a local Jupiter, a list of whose supervisors is attached (1).

It is maintained by Hatzfeld that each of the various shrines with *magistri* belonged to a different *pagus* and was the center of the religious activity of that district. In every case the *pagus* formed a religious association at whose head stood the board of *magistri* composing the supreme administrative body of the locality. According to this view the office filled by Laetorius was a subordinate position devoted to the management of the finances (2). But, if the twelve commissioners who were in office at the same time as Laetorius were the heads of a religious association comprising the dwellers of the *pagus*, they ought to be called either *magistri* of the *pagus* or preferably *magistri* of Hercules, the divinity who gave his name to it and presumably was recognized as its chief deity. Instead they are named after another god, who certainly had a shrine but probably not the leading one. Again, the *magister* of the *pagus* was an *ingenuus*, while the twelve supervisors were of a lower social status. Although in some other cases they were freemen and thus of the same position in society as the *magister pagi*, it seems improbable to suppose that an *ingenuus* held an office subordinate to the *libertini*. Boak further objects that it is impossible to regard these *magistri* as the presidents of a religious college, since they are specifically called a *collegium* and assigned posts of honor in the theater. Hatzfeld himself, however, admits that the twelve officers formed a *collegium* (3).

The older opinion of Mommsen, which in its general lines has recently been defended by Boak, seems preferable. Mommsen believed that there were a considerable number of districts each of which had an administrative officer such as Laetorius of the *pagus Herculaneus*, while the *magistri* of the various shrines occupied a subordinate position limited to the oversight

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 3772=D. 6302. Likewise a small fragment appears to contain the reading *p]ag(i) magis[ter*, followed by the word *magistri* to head the list of officials of a shrine. Cp. Boak, *op. cit.* 28 (2).

(2) Hazfeld, *op. cit.* 186 f.

(3) Boak 29 f.; Hatzfeld 187.

of these sanctuaries (1). Schulten accepted this opinion about the relationship existing between the supervisors of the shrines and a higher authority, but supposed that they were all connected with the *pagus Herculaneus* and that the city of Capua formed a part of it (2).

Yet, although the colleges of *magistri* occupied a subordinate position, it was not an insignificant one. They had charge of all the property of their deity, and were expected to repair and improve it (3). In some cases, as in the erection of an altar, the construction of a chapel, and the purchase of images, their improvements were distinctly connected with the cult which they served. In other cases such as the building of a tank or walls their connection with any form of religion is less manifest; yet this work was probably carried through on temple property, and the walls were perhaps designed to enclose the sacred precinct. They also disbursed money from the temple treasury. On one occasion they constructed seats in the theatre, but this action was in line with their relation to public amusement (4). In fact, unless they were definitely instructed by their *pagus* to perform some service for their shrine which consumed all their stipulated contribution, they were expected to provide games for the amusement of their constitpents (5). In return for their time and money they received recognition to

(1) Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 366 f.; Boak 25 f. There is no evidence for the existence of more than one *magister pagi* as distinguished from the twelve *magistri fanorum* regularly found. Cp. Mommsen p. 367 and the *lex Coloniae Genetiuae*, *E. E.* II, p. 115; Schulten, *Philologus* LIII (1894) 641; Waltzing, *Etude sur les corps prof.* 1, 42.

(2) Schulten, *De conventibus* 73 f. He thinks that the *magistri* mentioned in Nos. 3778, 3779, 3782 are the *collegium* called elsewhere that of Jupiter Compagus.

(3) Boak, *Class. Phil.* XI (1916) 30; Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 367.

(4) The list of building operations and other improvements include murus (3775, 3776=3777=*E. E.* VIII, 460), murus et pluteus (3778, 3779, 3780), murus(?) et pilae IIII (3774), murus calcidicum porticus signa marmorea (3781), porticus (3772), ara (3785), lacus (*E. E.* VIII, 473), sucrunda (*sic*) porticusque (*N .S.* 1893 164).

(5) An account of other officers, who exhibited similar amusements, is given by Mommsen, *C. I. L.* I, p. 159; Cp. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung* I, 180, These *magistri* in their functions and prerogatives are compared by Mourlot (*L'histoire de l'augustalité* 25) to the *magistri uicorum*.

the extent of having privileged seats in the theater, and were doubtless deemed worthy of other marks of honor. Nowhere else indeed were places of honor at the theater given to simple *magistri*, nor did those of Capua enjoy this distinction after the enactment of the *lex Iulia* (1).

The fact that the building of walls is mentioned in so many records seems significant. Thus the *magistri* of most of the shrines shared in that activity; those of Ceres were engaged in the task during the years 106 and 104 B. C. and in the former year those of Castor and Pollux as well. Hatzfeld maintains that the *magistri* of both cults, belonging to separate *pagi*, were engaged in the construction of a wall which was common property and therefore indicative of a common religious center (2). But according to his theory each district represented one distinct religious organization devoted in the one case to the worship of Ceres and in the other to the cult of the Dioscuri. It seems, therefore, unreasonable to suppose that there was a consolidation of the two shrines on the border between the two *pagi*, especially since it is known that other officials performed elsewhere a similar work. All these shrines where a wall is mentioned were plainly not located in the same spot.

Mommsen on the contrary believed that the *magistri* of Ceres, Venus Iouia Diana, Spes, and the Dioscuri all belonged to one and the same *pagus* located near Mt. Tifata and distinguished chiefly by the worship of Diana (3). He too made use of the evidence about the walls to establish this conclusion, maintaining that an enclosing wall to surround Diana's sacred precinct is meant; in particular he pointed to the circumstance that the height of walls given in two cases is approximately the same, - twenty - one and twenty - two feet (4). Although it seems a little strange that the overseers of Ceres of Spes or Venus Iouia should expend their funds for the advantage of another and rival shrine, this objection may be overcome by recalling that the expenditure was made in consequence of a

(1) Mommsen, *C. I. L.* I, p. 159b.

(2) Hatzfeld, *Bull. corr. hell.* XXXVI (1912) 186. Cp. Boak *op. cit.* 32.

(3) Mommsen, *C. I. L.* I, p. 159; X, p. 367.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 3779, 3780. They bear the dates respectively of 108 and 106 B. C.

scitum of the inhabitants of the community, who might conceivably wish their chief shrine to prosper at the expense of the more insignificant. But an examination of the evidence cited for the wall shows that the two inscriptions which name a similar altitude both record the work of the *magistri* of Ceres, who would naturally be occupied with the same task during the period of two or three years for which there is evidence, particularly if this was done for the improvement of their own shrine. Perhaps some of the other *magistri*, as for instance those of Venus Iouia devoted funds to the construction of the same piece of work, but this is not an essential supposition (1). Nor does the provenience of the inscriptions indicate that they originated in the district of Diana's temple. In many cases their origin is unknown. One, it is true, was found in that vicinity, but it is concerned with the cult of Diana, and on internal evidence alone would be assigned to that spot. On the other hand, the inscription commemorating the Dioscuri is said to have been found around S. Leucio and therefore near the site of the city itself (2).

As the members of the free population were chosen for the office of *magister*, so the slaves sometimes united under the name of *ministri* in colleges, the number of whose members here also was regularly twelve. Apparently they were required to make some payment or perform some service, but no definite information on this point is available. In one case with the date of 98 B. C. they have the oversight of the Lares and attend to the construction of something for the cult; in another instance, belonging to the year 26 B. C., there is no clue to the name of the shrine they serve nor to their mode of serving it (3). The

(1) Mommsen too admits this view as possible in another place. (*C. I. L.* X, p. 367). « Alios quoque pagos in opimo hoc territorio fuisse verisimile est, fierique potest, ut magistrorum fanorum illorum quos supra in Tifatis recensuimus alii ad alios pagos pertinuerint ». The height of the wall suggests that it was a retaining wall of some sort rather than a mere enclosure for the *temenos*.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 3781, 3778.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 3789=D. 3609=Vaglieri 2100: Hisce ministris Laribus faciendum coe(rarunt. (The names of twelve slaves appear here). Haec pondera et pauimentum faciendum et..... *C. I. L.* X, 3790. Cp. Mourlot *op. cit.* 25. Wissowa 171 (10); Boak, *op. cit.* 35.

ministri who appear under the designation *candidati* will be treated later (1).

MINOR DIVINITIES.

Apollo and Athena are both represented upon the third century Oscan coinage in bronze; the former wears now an Athenian and now a Corinthian helmet, Apollo bears a wreath of laurel (2). While this usage indicates that the two deities were not unknown here, it was due more to influence from without, which fixed the type of the coins, than to the presence of a real cult with its shrine. In fact outside of the Greek settlements and the coast towns especially subject to their influence these gods did not become popular in Campania. Pratilli without warrant as usual claimed a temple for Athena (3). A sculptured relief upon which she appears will be treated in another place (4).

Corcia, following the lead of earlier writers, tried to establish the presence of an Apollo temple by explaining the name of the village of Casapulla as derived from that of the god, and affirmed that much of the material used in the church of S. Elpidio, which is located there, came from this shrine (5). As he had a theory that the villages around Capua were named in antiquity from the gods, he was ready to see the name of some divinity concealed in almost all the modern nomenclature, as for example that of the Muses in Musicile (6). C. Robert states that an Apollo temple stood in Capua, which was the work of Daedalus, but this is an error (7). The supposed allusion to the shrine occurs in a passage of Silius Italicus. But here it is stated clearly that Virrius, the Capuan leader fighting for the Carthaginians, was addressing his men in reference to

(1) See pp. 324, 357; *C. I. L.* X, 8217.

(2) A. Sambon 396 f.; Nos. 1024, 1033, 1047, 1041, 1042. Head 34-35.

(3) Pratilli *Della Via Appia* 290.

(4) See p. 365.

(5) Corcia, *Storia delle due Sicilie* II, 70-71.

(6) Corcia II, 26.

(7) C. Robert, *Daidalos*, P.W. IV, 2005, « Einen von ihm in Cumae erbauten Apollotempel erwähnt Verg. *Aen.* VI, 14, einen gleichen in Capua Sil. Ital. XII, 102 ».

Cumae, whose wall they saw before them, and his words allude to the Apollo temple of that town. In fact this account is a close imitation of Vergil's and refers to the same shrine (1).

Mourlot has declared that the celebrated actor of pantomimes L. Aurelius Pylades, who is mentioned at Puteoli as a *sacerdos synodi*, held the position of *archiereus synodi* at Praeneste and also served as a priest of Apollo at Capua (2). But this statement is quite inaccurate, due to the confusion of Pylades with two other prominent actors, - M. Aurelius Agilius, who is cited at Praeneste as a holder of the office of *archiereus* and M. Aurelius Apolaustus, sometimes called Memphis, who is called a priest of Apollo in inscriptions coming from Liternum and Tibur. The latter was an Augustalis with special distinction at Capua, but the priesthood of Apollo in both instances was doubtless that of the actor's league with headquarters at Rome (3). There is therefore no real evidence for priest or temple of Apollo at Capua.

Not much evidence is at hand for the cult of Mercury. He does not appear upon any of the autonomous money of the city but only upon certain Romano-Campanian issues. An inscription the reading of which is doubtful was supplemented tentatively by Mommsen as an allusion to this god, but the reading is quite uncertain (4). A resident of Capua M. Campanius Marcellus, who held the position of Imperial representative in the East, is described as a *procurator ad Mercurium Alexandr (inum)*, but the nature of the post is unknown (5). Pratilli does not fail in this case to find the remains of a temple,

(1) Sil. XII, 83 f. The passage is correctly interpreted by Heyne *Virgil*, II excursus II, p. 789.

(2) Mourlot, *Essai sur l'hist. de l'Augustalité* 82, « Un fameux pantomime de l'époque de Septime-Sévère, l'affranchi impériale Pylade, est non seulement *servir Augustalis* mais *archiereus synodi* à Praeneste, *sacerdos synodi* à Puteoli (*N. S.* 1888, 237), *sacerdos Apollinis à Capua* (*C. I. L.* X, 3716).

(3) *C. I. L.* XIV, 2977=D. 5194; *C. I. L.* XIV, 4254=D. 5191; *C. I. L.* X, 3716=D. 5189; *E. E.* VIII, 369=D. 5186. See Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* (8) II, 634 f.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 3822: Ser. Suettius Ser. l. Cimber u. s. m. l. M(ercurio?) s(acrum). Cp. X, 3773.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 3847=D. 1398=Vaglieri 1553. Cp. Steuding, *Mercurius*, Roscher II, 2815.

which he claims existed in the village of S. Erasmo. But the inscription which he cities as a proof of this shrine is spurious (1).

Neptune with the character of the Greek Poseidon is mentioned upon a *cippus* which records that a vow made in the waters of Sicily has been paid (2). Pratilli wished to locate a temple in a spot outside the city in the direction of the sea, which he says was called *la fossa di Nettuno* in a document of the year 1269, belonging to the cloister church S. Giovanni delle Monache (3). But the dedication just cited probably belonged to some traveler grateful for an escape from shipwreck, and was not set up in a temple of this god. It is doubtful whether he had a shrine in the interior of Campania.

In an enumeration of portents made by Cicero, the date of which is uncertain, the image of Victoria at Capua is said to have been found covered with perspiration like Apollo's statue at Cumae (4). This image may have been placed in the temple of another god especially in that of Jupiter with whom the goddess was intimately associated at Rome. Traces of such an association are also found at Capua, for certain coins which exhibit him upon the obverse show her upon the reverse in the act of crowning a trophy (5). It is not improbable, however, that she had a temple of her own. Although little is known of her cult in Campania, she probably represents a native deity who has been considerably modified as a result of assimilation to the Greek Nice (6).

Silvanus is honored in a dedication discovered near S. Angelo in Formis. It was made by Vrsulus, a steward attached to the temple of Diana, and by eight slaves called *candidati*,

(1) Pratilli, *Della Via Appia* 289; *C. I. L.* X, 456* Cp. Raoul-Rochette, *Jour. des savants* 1853, 288.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 3813: Neptuno sacrum.... uotum in Siculo fretu susceptum soluit.

(3) Pratilli 289.

(4) Cic. *div.* I, 98. See p. 52.

(5) Wissowa 139; Graillot, *Victoria*, D.-S. V, 843, 833; Head 35; A. Samon 400, No. 1037. She is also associated on coins with Athena. Cp. No. 1033.

(6) Cp. Graillot, D.-S. V, 836.

whose relation to the cult of the god is unknown. The cause of their action was a dream or a sinister omen. Here contrary to the usual custom in expressing the name of this deity it is not preceded by the word *deus* (1). The place of the dedication, a locality which in early times at least was thickly wooded, accords with the original character of this deity who was venerated particularly in the forests. Moreover, the dedicators were of the same class socially as a large number of people who have left a record of their interest in him (2). The god was not worshipped in a temple, but as elsewhere received the sacrifices destined for him upon altars.

In the same region of Mt. Tifata were discovered fragments of a roof-tile which preserve the name of the Mefites. An old Italian deity Mefitis was worshipped elsewhere in the southern part of the peninsula especially at Potentia; she was the embodiment of the unwholesome vapor that issued from the earth in various places. Here the plural evidently alludes to several goddesses who were conceived as a kind of nymph (3).

A local hero Telephus is probably represented on the third century Oscan coins. Upon the obverse of this money is portrayed a head attired in the Phrygian style; upon the reverse is an infant suckled by a doe, - a subject based upon a legend connected with the life of Telephus (4). Avellino believed that the white doe trained by the hero Capys, which Silius describes, is a reminiscence of this myth (5). Telephus, the son of Hercules and a king of Mysia, was the father of the Etruscan heroes Tyrrhenus and Tarchon, and therefore was held in esteem by that people. The reign of this hero in Italia is re-

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 8217=Vaglieri 1195: Siluano sacr. Vrsulus uil(icus) Dianae et candidati (followed by eight names) ex uiso. Kübler, *Candidatus*, Ruggiero II 79; Vaglieri, *Deus*, Ruggiero II, 1718, 1721.

(2) R. Peter, *Silvanus*, Roscher IV, 862, 863; von Domaszewsky, *Silvanus auf lateinischen Inschriften* in *Abhandl. zur röm. Religion* 58 f.=*Philologus* LXI (1902) 1 f.; Hild, *Silvanus*, D.-S. IV, 1343.

(3) C. *I. L.* X, 3811 and addenda part. 2, p. 976; Mefitu sacra. Cp. Peter, *Mefitis*, Roscher, II, 2520; Minervini, *Atti Terra di Lavoro* 1883 65.

(4) A. Sambon 403, No. 1046; Poole 83, No. 14; Minervini, *Ann. Inst.* XXIII (1851) 40.

(5) Avellino, *Bull. Nap.* I (1845) 12. Cp. Novi, *Iscrizioni* etc. 14; Raoul-Rochette, *Jour. des savants* 1853, 687-88.

ferred to by the Byzantine historian Cedrenus (1). It has been conjectured that the legend about him was introduced into Campania by the early Greek settlers and afterward from this source reached Etruria (2). But its presence here is more likely a later development due to the Etruscan domination in Campania, a fact to which it itself bears witness (3).

The head on the obverse has been considered sometimes as that of a male and sometimes as that of a female, and hence has been variously explained. Minervini recognized the hero's mother Auge; Head, influenced by the likeness of this figure to that upon the Romano-Campanian coins of this period, considers that it is intended to represent the personification Roma, who became in fact associated with Telephus in myth and was regarded as his daughter (4). Most numismatists, however have identified the head as that of Telephus himself (5).

There was also a legend presumably of later origin, that the city was founded by an eponymous hero Capys, who naturally claimed the honors due to one in his position. At the time of Julius Caesar, when certain Roman colonists lured by the discovery of antiquities had turned archeologists, an ancient grave, which people said belonged to Capys, yielded a bronze tablet inscribed in Greek letters which purported to contain words referring to him (6). As Capys was held to be a relative of Aeneas the presence of Aeneas legends is indicated for this territory (7).

(1) Cedrenus in *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* I, 245.

(2) Klausen, *Aenas und die Penaten* II, 1222; Thrämer, *Pergamos* 394 (2); Gruppe 629 (4).

(3) Pais, *Storia critica di Roma* I, 234.

(4) Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. VII (1859) 170; Head 35. Cp. Richter, *Roma*, Roscher IV, 150; Plut. *Rom.* 2.

(5) Avellino *Bull. Nap.* I (1845) 11; Cavedoni, *Bull. Nap.* I (1845) 72 and *Bull. Inst.* 1853, 124; A. Sambon 392; Garrucci 88, No. 31.

(6) Suet. *Iul* 81: Paucos ante menses, cum in colonia Capua deducti lege Iulia coloni ad exstruendas uillas uetustissima sepulchra disicerent idque eo studiosius facerent, quod aliquantum uascolorum operis antiqui scrutantes reperiebant, tabula aenea in monimento, in quo dicebatur Capys conditor Capuae sepultus, inuenta est conscripta litteris uerbisque Graecis hac sententia *etc.* Pais, *Stor. crit.* I, 234 (2); Beloch 298.

(7) Serv. *Aen.* X, 145=Caelius Antipater Fr. 52 (Peter); Worner, *Aineias*, Roscher I, 174; De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* I, 252; Drexler, *Kapis* 3), P.-W. II, 957.

Another coin of the same period bears the likeness of a young Faun or the god Pan, who is portrayed with a shepherd's crook upon his shoulder. A. Sambon sugests that he was a local divinity of Mt. Tifata (1). Like the Sarnus and the Sebethus in other parts of Campania, the Volturnus here was considered as the abode of a river god, who received his due honors (2). The only direct reference to any sacred observances still extant occurs in the fourth century A. D. Campanian calendar treated in the first chapter (3); but while the place retained its sacred character, the old ceremonies connected with it had doubtless long since ceased or at least had lost their earlier significance. As stated in the first chapter the Roman cult of Volturnus can not be regarded as an importation from this source (4).

To Nemesis with associated divinities (συννάοισι θεοῖσιν) a certain Arrian erected an altar according to the text of two elegiac lines in Greek; below a second record in Latin verses shows that the companion goddesses to whom reference is made in the Greek are Justitia and the Fata (5). Although Ihm included this inscription among his *Denkmäler* for the study of the Celtic Matres, he rightly affirms that the Fata mentioned here have no relation with them (6). Pratilli claimed that these divinities had a temple, and the same assumption is made by Conway, who cities them as an example for the housing of several deities together at Capua (7). But the inscription is

(1) Garrucci 89; A. Sambon 402, No. 1043 Cp. 393.

(2) Preller-Jordan II 142; Pais *op. cit.* I, 234 (1).

(3) The inscription cited by earlier, uncritical writers is now considered spurious. *C. I. L.* X, 460*; Corcia, *Storia delle due Sicilie* II, 90.

(4) See p. 42.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 3812=D. 3737=Vaglieri 1168;

Δεσποίνῃ Νεμέσει καὶ συννάοισι θεοῖσιν
Ἀρριανὸς βωμὸν τόνδε καθειδρύσατο.
Iustitiae Nemesi Fatis quam uouerat aram
numina sancta colens, Cammarius posuit. Cp. Otto, *Fatum*, P.-W. VI, 2050.

(6) Ihm, *Die Mütter oder Matronenkultus und seine Denkmäler* in *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsf. im Rheinlande* LXXXI (1886) 100, 177.

(7) Pratilli, *Della Via Appia* 291; Conway, *The Italic Dialects* I, 109.

probably only an example of a sporadic dedication, and does not make it necessary to suppose that there was a temple dedicated to the Fates with Justitia and Nemesis. A mutilated inscription, the text of which is uncertain, begins with a dedication to a Deus Scholar (ius ?) about whom nothing is known. Mommsen at first associated him with the Mithras worship, but rightly gave up this view as dependent on an incorrect reading (1). A remarkable epitaph marking the tomb of C. Laetorius Rufus has substituted Pluto for the Dii Manes, a substitution which according to Mommsen is unique (2). The Janus or two faced Hermes type which is found upon coins was a common design among the Greek cities in Sicily and elsewhere, but at Capua is more likely the result of Roman influence. In any case it does not indicate a cult of Janus (3).

ROMAN CULTS.

There is a singular lack of evidence for the official priests of the Roman colony. The name of no pontiff is known and that of only one augur P. Aelius Philologus has been preserved. This man was a personage of local importance and served as decurion (4). The number of augurs and pontiffs holding office here is unknown, but it was perhaps the same as that proposed for the colony which the tribune Q. Seruilius Rullus tried unsuccessfully to establish in 63 B. C. In the bill brought forward at that time six pontiffs and ten augurs were included (5). Public officials devoted to individual deities were also

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 3793=Vaglieri 1050. Steuding, *Deus Scholarius* (?) Roscher I, 998.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 3815=D. 8001=Vaglieri 2358: Plutoni sacrum. C. Laetori Rufi h(ic) s(ita) s(unt). Tulli et mater feceru(nt). C. Laetori C. f. Rufi.

(3) Head 34; A. Sambon 395 f.; Roscher, *Ianus*, Roscher II, 51. Cp. Friedenburg, *Die Münze in der Kulturgeschichte* 70.

(4) *C. I. L.* X 3904=Vaglieri 2078=D. 6311: P. Aelio P. fil. Philologo aug(uri), decurioni Capuae, ornato sententia Iluirale Aelia Aphrodisia mater et sibi fecit. Vaglier' supplements the abbreviation *aug.* to read *Augustalis* but a decurion would scarcely have held that office.
Cp. Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 369a.

(5) Cic. *leg. agr.* II, 96: Huc isti X viri cum IↃↃ colonorum ex lege Rulli deduxerint, C decuriones, X augures, VI pontifices constituerint, quos

found here, as for example the priestess devoted to the Numen of the city (1).

The establishment of the Roman colony did not put an end at once to the activity of the *magistri* who had the oversight of shrines in the different *pagi* (2). Yet it seems to have affected that institution considerably in the course of time. As these boards declined in importance, and the new offices created by the establishment of the colony opened up fresh fields for the exercise of ambition among those who wished to display their talents for administration, it is probable that positions in the service of the *pagus* were no longer attractive and were kept filled with difficulty. Thus an inscription dated 15 A. D., which refers to *magistri* in the service of Jupiter Liber or Liber (tas) contains only six names, and bears witness to a decline in this department of civic activity (3). At this time the officials were still expected to provide money for the cult or for the amusement of their fellow citizens as in the old days. Another inscription, which contains six names and alludes to the dedication of a shrine, doubtless records the work of *magistri*, but this fact is not explicitly stated (4).

THE CAPITOLINE TRIAD.

The existence of a Capitol and consequently the worship of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno and Minerva are unusually well authenticated at Capua. In his account of the plans of Tiberius for taking a definite leave of Rome and withdrawing into seclusion, Tacitus says that the Emperor alleged as a reason for his departure his intention to dedicate two temples in Campania, one of which in honor of Jupiter was situated at Capua

illorum animos, quos impetus, quam ferociam fore putatis? Cp. the lex Coloniae Genituae (C. *I. L.* II, supp. 5439 c. 67) which calls for a minimum of three pontiffs and three augurs for the exercise of *cooptatio*.

(1) See p. 369.

(2) The term *pagus* itself does not appear in Italy after the passage of the *lex Iulia municipalis* (45 B. C.). Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* I (2), 6.

(3) C. *I. L.* X, 3786=Vaglieri 2103: Druso Caesare C Norb. cos. loui Liber (six names of *magistri*) mag. d. s. p. Mommsen, C. *I. L.* X, p. 367b.

(4) C. *I. L.* X, 3787.

(26 A.D.) (1). Suetonius, evidently following the same source, refers to the same two sacred edifices but calls the one at Capua a *Capitolium* (2). The latter in giving a list of ominous occurrences during Caligula's reign also states that the *Capitolium* of Capua was struck by lightning (3). It was probably at once repaired or rebuilt, if totally destroyed, but references in works written at a later date are not wholly conclusive. When Silius Italicus was giving an account of Hannibal's reception into the city, he represented the Carthaginian leader as noting its chief points of interest, among which was the lofty Capitol (4). Here the writer probably had in mind a temple visible in his own day, which he arbitrarily placed in the distant past. But he may not have spoken of any building that actually existed, and may simply have assigned a Capitolium to Capua to correspond to the one in Rome. Likewise a passage in the late *Acta Sanctorum* assumes that the temple was in use during the time of the persecution of the Christians under Diocletian, and asserts that it was again destroyed by a bolt of lightning (5). There is no improbability in the continued use of the Capitol at a late date, but the *Acta* by themselves furnish no trustworthy evidence for such an assumption. The remark about the lightning seems in fact to be a direct borrowing from Suetonius and the assertion about the end of the persecution is false (6).

(1) Tac. *ann.* IV, 57: Inter quae diu meditato prolatoque saepius consilio tandem Caesar in Campaniam abscessit, specie dedicandi templa apud Capuam Ioui, apud Nolam Augusto, sed certus procul urbe degere.

(2) Suet. *Tib.* 40: Peragrata Campania, cum Capuae Capitolium, Nolae templum Augusti, quam causam profectionis praetenderat, dedicasset, Capreas se contulit.

(3) Suet. *Calig.* 57: Capitolium Capuae Id. Mart. de caelo tactum est, item Romae cella Palatini atriensis.

(4) Sil. XI, 265: Monstrant Capitolia celsa.
Stellatisque docent campos Cereremque benignam.

(5) *Acta Rufi et Carponi* in *Acta sanctorum, Aug.* VI, p. 19: Quae acta sunt temporibus Diocletiani imperatoris et Maximiniani Caesaris et Casselliani proconsulis, qui in Capitolio deseruiebat diis sordidissimis. Quod Capitolium ciuitate Capua orationibus sanctorum Rufi et Carponi Christus fulmine suo interemit et ultra non surrexit persecutio paganorum.

(6) Kuhfeldt, *De Capitoliis imperii Romani* 11, 15, This opinion is attacked by Allard, *Les Capitoles provinciaux et les actes des martyrs* in *La science catholique* I (1887) 372.

The two main problems connected with this Capitol are its site and the date of its erection. Beloch, reasoning chiefly from the use of the preposition *apud* in the account of Tacitus and the adjective *celsa* in the poem of Silius, identified the Capitolium with the shrine of Jupiter Tifatinus (1). This view would explain the allusion to its height, as the city itself was practically level, and would harmonize with the principle that it should occupy an elevated station. But Beloch himself afterwards rightly rejected this theory, because it contradicts the fundamental assumption that a Capitol must stand within the walls and form the center of the community from a political and a religious point of view (2). For as indicated in an earlier chapter it became the outward manifestation and public expression of loyalty toward Rome (3).

Kuhfeldt, who had vehemently attacked the opinion of Beloch, refused to accept the evidence of Silius for a high *Capitolium* on the ground that the reference of this poet was merely an imitation of Vergil (4). But while Silius was doubtless writing loosely and inaccurately, it is not correct to assume that he was imitating Vergil, since the similarity of the two poets in this case is confined to the two words *celsa Capitolia,* where this adjective is the natural and appropriate epithet for any one to use under the influence of Roman ideas. The Roman Capitol in fact is habitually portrayed under the aspect of a central citadel, and the provincial imitations, true to the conception inspired by their original, must have had attached to them in fancy, if not in reality, something of the various qualities belonging to it. Then too in his enumeration of the various features of the city Silius would naturally mention an acropolis and call it a *Capitolium* after the Roman fashion, though this edifice had not yet been erected in the epoch of Hannibal. At no time can we think of a really lofty situation, for this did not exist within the city. Yet the building was perhaps raised upon

(1) Beloch 360.

(2) Beloch 471; Kuhfeldt, *op. cit.* 16; Castan, *Les Capitoles provinciaux* 65; Aust, *Juppiter,* Roscher II, 739.

(3) See p. 246.

(4) Kuhfeldt, 16; Castan 93. Verg. *Aen.* VIII, 663: Stabat pro templo et Capitolia celsa tenebat.

an artificial mound or at least reared upon substructures to make it more imposing, - a condition of affairs which seems to have prevailed quite generally as revealed by examples at Florentia, Ostia, and Vesontio (Besançon) in Gaul (1).

While there was certainly a Capitol somewhere within the city limits, its precise situation can not be determined. The older antiquarians beginning with Cesare Costa and including Michele Monaco and Pratilli, located it near the theater and the *thermae* (cryptoporticus) in a spot named *la torre di S. Erasmo.* The latter claimed that an inscription reading *Dianae Capitolinae* had been found here; he also asserted that he had found in mediaeval documents the phrases *prope turrim Capitolii* and *prope ecclesiam S. Erasmi in Capitolio,* and that he himself saw a large number of pillars and marble fragments from the ancient building (2). Mazzocchi however, profesesd to see no special reason for believing that the Capitol stood here, and the evidence of Pratilli is rightly suspected (3).

A marble relief discovered on this site in the seventeenth century has sometimes been used to establish the location of the Capitol. Although the divinities here portrayed are identified as Jupiter, Diana, and Minerva and not the regular Capitoline triad, it has been supposed that at Capua Juno was replaced by Diana, the predominant goddess of this region in early times, and that this unusual triad was revered in the Capitol (4). But, although another divinity might sometimes be associated with the three who are known as the Capitoline gods, there is no likelihood that any one of these was deposed from his

(1) Castan, *op. cit.* 65; H. Leclercq, *Capitoles* in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne* II, 2043; Saglio, *Capitolium,* D.-S. I, 906; Allard, *op. cit.* 359. The existence of a Capitol at Vesontio is doubted by Toutain, *Étude sur les Capitoles provinciaux de l'empire romain* in *Rapports annuels de l'école pratique des hautes études* 1899, 3.

(2) Pratilli, *Della Via Appia* 228, 278, 287; Kuhfeldt 17; Leclercq 2047; Beloch 343; Raoul-Rochette, *Jour. des savants* 1853, 280; Castan 93; Allard 372.

(3) Mazzocchi, *In mutilum Campani amphitheatri titulum* 258.

(4) Raoul-Rochette, *loc. cit.*; Sogliano, *Spigolature epigrafiche* in *Atti Nap.* XV (1890) 159. The relief is reproduced in Winckelmann-Fea, *Storia delle arti* III, Pl. 13; Millin, *Galerie mythologique* I, XXXVIII No. 139.

rightful place (1). In this cult the exact imitation of the Roman model was emphasized, and there was no place for important deviations from the norm which had become established. Again the triad seems to have been introduced here at a comparatively late date not only after its form had become thoroughly fixed but also after Diana's importance had become somewhat obscured by the new divinities of the Empire (2).

It is better to consider this group as a votive offering made to the three deities in consequence of a dream. Besides the gods, two men are depicted as employed in manual labor and a third is wielding a chisel. Likewise a Genius offering libation at an altar and behind him a huge serpent appear; above the latter are the words *Genius theatri* (3). As the dedicator was a contractor and builder employed on the theater, the divinities honored were doubtless those from whom he expected protection in his work (4). Consequently we can not use this relief as a proof for the presence of a Capitol in the locality where it was found.

Although the Roman historians state clearly that the Capitol was dedicated by Tiberius in the year 26 A. D., there still remains the possibility that this was not a dedication of the first temple but merely marked a restoration. The date of the original structure has been much disputed. Raoul-Rochette believed that it went back to the era of Etruscan supremacy and

(1) Kuhfeldt cites the *Colonia Julia Genetiua* as an example of the association of Venus with the regular triad, but there is no evidence for any permanent connection or association of cults. *C. I. L.* II, Supp. p. 855, LXXI; Kuhfeldt, *De Capitoliis imperii Romani* 18 (40); Saglio, D.-S. I, 906.

(2) Kuhfeldt 18.

(3) The Genius has been identified as a Fortuna by Jahn, *Darstellungen antiker Reliefs welche sich auf Handwerk und Handelsverkehr beziehen* in *Berichte der sächs. Gesellschaft* XIII (1861) 30364, but it has the common form of the Genius found in domestic shrines. Jordan, *De Larum imaginibus et cultu* in *Ann. Inst.* XXXIV (1862) 333; Wissowa 180.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 3821 = Vaglieri 1080 = D. 3662: Genius [the] atri. Lucceius Peculiaris, redemptor proscaeni ex biso (sic) fecit. According to Castan Jupiter was propitiated to restrain his destructive thunderbolts, Minerva, as a patroness of the artistic efforts involved in the construction of the theater, and Diana, as a protectress of the wood used in the work. Castan, *Les Capitoles provinciaux* 95.

was thus independent of any Roman influence (1). It is possible that the Campanians derived the idea of the Capitoline triad from them, but evidence for such temples in this district or elsewhere is lacking. Beloch's assignment of the Capitol to the pre-Roman period was based upon the testimony of Silius Italicus discussed above, but absolute accuracy in historical matters can not be expected from that poet (2). On the other hand it is not possible to accept unreservedly the opinion of Castan that the building of a Capitol was conditioned by the presence of a colony (3). Hence it is impossible to deny that Kuhfeldt may have been right in assigning it to the period of Roman occupation preferably after the general granting of citizenship at the time of the Social War (4). Yet the institution of the Capitoline worship was above all else the manifestation of loyalty to Rome and a desire to copy after it as far as local circumstances permitted. At Capua, however, there was present the inclination to be a rival of Rome rather than a docile imitator, and this feeling seems to have lingered all through the pre-colonial period. According to Cicero the city's pride had begun immediately to affect the first colonists, who were setting themselves up as the equals of Rome (5). Although the orator accused them of introducing customs and a system of nomenclature belonging properly only to Rome, he made no mention of an attempt on their part to bring in the Capitoline cult, - a detail which he would scarcely have passed unnoticed, if it had been possible to include it. The colonists here were imitators in a certain sense, but were moved by an attitude of rivalry far different from the spirit of loyalty which prompted the erection of Capitolia (6).

(1) Raoul-Rochette, *op. cit.* 280. See p. 246 (2).

(2) Beloch 361.

(3) Castan believed that a Capitol was granted only to Roman colonies as a special privilege before the extension of citizenship under Caracalla. Castan 41f.; L. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms* (6) III, 198; Allard, *La science catholique* I (1887) 359. Cp. Gell. XVI, 13; Cic. *leg. agr.* II, 73; Toutain, *op. cit.* 26f.

(4) Kuhfeldt 15, 78; Aust, *Iuppiter*, Roscher, II, 739.

(5) Cic. *leg. agr.* II, 92-94.

(6) Saglio, D.-S. I, 906; Castan, *Les Capitoles provinciaux* 66f.

After the colonization of Julius Caesar (58 B. C.) one can expect to find a Capitol in this place, but no evidence for it appears earlier than the notices of 26 A. D. discussed above. There is no reason to suppose that Tiberius acted as patron of the temple in the sense of furnishing the means for its erection, but he was present at the dedication ceremony in his capacity of high priest of the formal religion of the Roman state (1). As he refused divine honors for himself and discouraged the further spread of the cult of Diuus Augustus, it is possible that he encouraged the building of Capitolia, - the one remaining means of showing attachment toward the central government (2). Yet the dedication at Capua is the only extant example of his interest in the cult of Jupiter (3). In short it is not necessary to suppose with Kuhfeldt that Tiberius was present at a restoration (4).

No inscriptions allude to the Capitoline triad, but two make mention of its most potent member, Jupiter Optimus Maximus. One is a dedication made by a seaman P. Rammius Chrestus and is dated 12 B. C. (5). If the date assumed above for the foundation of the Capitolium is correct, this record antedates it by a considerable period. It should be regarded, therefore, as a sporadic inscription and not as evidence for a regular cult. The second reference to the god belongs to the era of the Empire; addressing him as *summus excellentissimus,* it records the grateful piety of Marcius Probus, an eminent Roman, who held the important office of *praefectus alimentorum.* He had escaped danger and recovered his health in this locality, and felt grateful toward the deity to whom he ascribed his good fortune (6).

(1) Castan, *Le Capitole de Vesontio et les Capitoles provinciaux du monde romain* 65, 76 and *Les Capitoles provinciaux* 42, 45. Cp. Suet, *Tib.* 47.

(2) Suet. *Tib.* 26; Tac. *ann.* IV, 37-38; Castan, *Les Capitoles provinciaux* 70. The opinion of Castan (*op. cit.* 68) that the building of Capitols was in general a late form of showing loyalty to Rome is erroneous. See p. 33f.

(3) Aust. *Iupiter,* Roscher II, 748.

(4) Kuhfeldt, *op. cit.* 15.

(5) C. *I. L.* X, 3804=Vaglieri 1108=D. 3004.

(6) C. *I. L.* X, 3805=Vaglieri 1112; I. O. M. summo excellentissimo Marcius Probus u. c. praef(ectus) alim(entorum), quod hoc in loco anceps periculum sustinuerit et bonam ualetudinem reciperauerit u. s.

GENIUS.

Aside from the *Genius theatri* treated above there is no allusion to this kind of deity either as a god who watches over the individual or as one who presides over a place or the entire community. A divinity of the latter type, however, is concealed under the designation of Numen Capuae, who seems to have been the equivalent of the public Genii who have left traces of their presence at Stabiae, Nola and especially at Puteoli. The inscription recording the god is mutilated, but preserves enough of the original notice to show that he was served by a public priestess (1). This circumstance is odd, as the Genius of a community was ordinarily served by male priests.

LARES.

An inscription once interpreted by Minervini as a dedication to Jupiter Larissaeus is in reality connected with the worship of Jupiter and the Lares (2). It contains the record of the building of a small shrine to these divinities by a freedman L. Cocceius Papa, who had been manumitted apparently by three brothers of Cocceius Nerua, a friend of Horace and Maecenas and a companion of Tiberius on his journey to Campania (3). Cavedoni believed that this man's cognomen Papa indicated that he was a Phrygian, but he was influenced by a belief that the shrine was in honor of a foreign deity (4). The date of the inscription is 13 B. C.

In an excavation made by Novi in the neighborhood of the temple of Diana Tifatina was discovered a wall painting containing three figures. Two of them can be identified readily

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 3920: ....aberi(ae C. f.) Tetti(aee) Prisc(ae s)acerd(oti) pub(licae N)uminis Cap(uae..... elect(ae) a splend. ordine..... Cp. *C. I. L.* XIV, 373 from Ostia and II, 2126 from Spain. Herbst *De Sacerdotiis Rom. munic.* 14 reads *sacerdos publici Numinis.*

(2) Paus. II, 24-3; Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. V (1856) 98. Cp. VI, 16.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 3803=Vaglieri 1125: .... L. Cocceius C. I. M. I. Papa aedic(ulam) Ioui Lar(ibus) ex d. d. Cavedoni, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. VI (1857) 47; Hor. *sat.* I, 5, 27; Tac. *ann.* IV, 58; VI, 26.

(4) Cavedoni *loc. cit.*

as the Lares, while the third, who stands between them with a *patera* and horn of plenity, is either Fortuna or Vesta (1). The inscription belonging to the beginning of the first century B. C. which deals with the works of a board of *ministri* has already been treated (2).

THE IMPERIAL CULT.

The worship of the Emperor and family was carried on under the direction of Augustales, a large number of whom are known (3). They are mentioned chiefly in epitaphs which prove that their official title was *Augustales Capuae;* out of a group of thirteen inscriptions in fact only two omit the name of the city (4). One inscription reported to have come from this town contains the name of a *seuir Augustalis,* but this position hardly existed here, and more probably the record belongs to the town of Cales (5). The members of the organization were probably without exception freedmen; although this fact is stated definitely in only three instances, the absence of any indication of filiation proves that the other incumbents of the office should be assigned to the same class (6).

One of the members was the well known actor L. Aurelius Apolaustus, a freedman of Marcus Aurelius and Verus, who is mentioned in connection with other Campanian towns. He is called an *Augustalis maximus,* a position which was equivalent to the *quinquennalis* cited from other places (7). In the case of Apolaustus, however, the post must have been a purely honorary one. Another Augustalis was employed as an overseer of building operations and a third was a manufacturer and

(1) Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. VII (1858) 172.

(2) See p. 354f.

(3) C. *I. L.* X, 3943; 3716; 8221.

(4) C. *I. L.* X, 3947=Vaglieri 2084; X, 8221, Mommsen, C. *I. L.* X, p, 369 a.

(5) C. *I. L.* X, 3919.

(6) C. *I. L.* X,3943, 3947, 8221.

(7) C. *I. L.* X, 3716=D. 5189. von Premerstein, *Augustales,* Ruggiero I, 849. See p. 356.

dealer in lime (1). The occupations of the rest are unknown. In accordance with the universal custom in the provincial towns they were required to make a payment to the municipality in return for the office which they held, but this was sometimes remitted on account of important services as in the case of the builder Ianuarius (2). One advantage of membership in the organization was the chance of sharing in bequests made by philanthropically inclined citizens (3).

A collegium of *iuuenes* who were connected with the cult of Augustus and from him received the name *iuuenes Aug (ustales)* is mentioned in one inscription (4). Their patron Ti. Claudius Rufinus is cited as a quinquennalis, but hardly held the position in this organization, as assumed by Mommsen. One dedication honors the Numen of the Emperor, another his Victoria; there is no clue to the name of the monarch whom the dedicators had in mind (5). Evidence for temples of the *Diui* is strangely lacking.

ORIENTAL CULTS, EGYPTIAN GODS.

Little evidence exists for the worship of the Egyptian gods but they doubtless were much patronized. In one dedication, made by a *uir clarissimus* Arrius Balbinus, the goddess Isis is eulogized as embracing all other divinities. This pantheistic conception of the deity was one that was very popular in the Roman world, and gods of all varieties easily merged in her personality (6). A marble statuette of a naked man accompa-

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 3907=D. 6313=Vaglieri 2083. D.m.s. Q. Annio Ianuario exactori operum publ. et theatri a fundamentis. Huic ordo decurionum ob merita eius honorem Augustalitatis gratuitum decreuit etc. *C. I. L.* X, 3947= D. 7537=Vaglieri 2084 D.m.s. T. Flauius T. lib. Salutaris Augustalis sibi et Titiriae Felicitati coniugi bene merenti, negotias (*sic*) calcariarius uiuus fecit.

(2) Cp. the *Augustales immunes* at Misenum and Puteoli. Beurlier, *Le culte impérial* 211.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 3927.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 3909=Vaglieri 2079. Cp. Mommsen *C. I. L.* X, p. 369[a].

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 3816=Vaglieri 1208: Victoriae Caesaris Augusti imperatoris. *C. I. L.* X, 3814=Vaglieri 1171; A fragment.

(6) *C. I. L.* X, 3800=D. 4362=Vaglieri 1093. Te tibi una quae es omnia, dea Isis, Arrius Balbinus u. c. Drexler, *Isis*, Roscher, II. 546 and *Mythologische Beiträge* I, 125 f; Lafaye, *Isis*, D.-S. III, 381.

nied by figures of little children, a crocodile and a hippopotamus, was found about 1900 near S. Angelo in Formis. It doubtless represent the river god Nilus (1).

MAGNA MATER.

Two inscriptions bear witness to the worship of Magna Mater. One is a dedication made by a priest belonging to the local shrine, the *archigallus* Virianus Ampliatus, who was evidently a slave (2). This official is found only in the more important cult centers such as Ostia, Lugdunum in Gaul, and Hierapolis in Phrygia, where he exercised important priestly and prophetic functions (3). It is probable that powers of the Capuan *archigallus* were limited to this city and the territory directly tributary to it; in other words he did not have any jurisdiction over the priests of a lower order who lived in the smaller Campaniam towns (4). He held his position for life, doubtless receiving his authority from the Roman board of *quindecemuiri* (5). Nothing is known of the date of Virianus Ampliatus, as public slaves held the position even after the cult had been reorganized at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century, and the priesthood thrown open to Roman citizens. Probably he belonged to this later era, when neither emasculation nor celibacy was a ceremonial requirement (6). The inscription was accompanied by a relief, which Pratilli and Iannelli regarded as a likeness of the priest, but which Mommsen identified as intended to represent the goddess herself (7). Graillot believes that the *archigallus* was ordinarily a man of imposing presence and dignified demeanor who was

(1) Gabrici, *N. S.* 1901, 560.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 3810=Vaglieri 1141: Virianus Ampliatus archigallus M(atris) d(eum). Von Domaszewski, *Magna Mater in Latin Inscriptions* in *Jour. Rom. Stud.* I (1911) 51.

(3) A list of places where an archigallus was found is given by Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* 234 (2) and de Ruggiero, Ruggiero I, 641-642. Cp. Graillot 233 f.

(4) Graillot 235.

(5) Graillot, 236.

(6) Graillot 231-232; Decharme, *Cybèle*, D.-S. I, 1685.

(7) Pratilli, *Della Via Appia* 263; Iannelli, *Atti Terra di Lavoro* 1892, 25; Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, 3810; Graillot 565, correction to 536 (5).

well advanced in years and tended to command respect not only for his piety but also for his age, but the scattered literary references on this point are too few to make a conclusive generalization (1). Another inscription found in the *Ager Campanus* records a gift to the goddess by a freedman T. Flauius Onesimus (2). Both of the inscriptions from Capua, as is customary in southern Italy, address her simply as *Mater deum* without the additional epithet *Idaea*, a term which when used has been assumed to mark more completely the Romanization of the cult (3). Other evidence sometimes adduced for the presence of the cult at Capua is of doubtful authenticity (4).

In the seventeenth century the site of her temple was commonly supposed to lie between the ancient cities of Capua and Casilinum (the modern Capua) but nearer to the latter than to the former. The precise spot in which it was supposed to have stood is near the church and the hospital of S. Lazaro. Here walls and remains of columns came to light but the inscription which purported to refer to the Mater deum was spurious (5). In another locality near Mt. Tifata excavations revealed many statuettes of mediocre workmanship, which portrayed a beardless youth wearing a short tunic and playing a flute with seven pipes. These would seem to represent Attis. As Magna Mater was frequently worshipped on mountain heights, her cult may have become asociated with Tifata (6). It probably did not oust that of Diana from its place of honorable preëminence in this locality, but rather merged with it in accordance with the syncretistic tendency prevalent in the later Empire. Probably she lived on terms of intimacy with Jupiter Tifatinus, as elsewhere her relations with Jupiter were cordial (7). There is no

(1) Graillot 236. Cp. Ov. *fast.* IV, 337 f.; Juv. VI, 512.

(2) C. *I. L.* X, 3809: Matri deum T. Flauius Onesimus donum dedit. A list of freedmen named as dedicators in inscriptions is given by von Domaszewski, *op. cit.* 52.

(3) Graillot 434.

(4) C. *I. L.* X, 455*; Iannelli, *op. cit.* 22 f.

(5) Pratilli, *loc. cit.*; Graillot 433 (6).

(6) Graillot 433; Biardot, *Les terres-cuites grecques funèbres* 322; cp. Decharme, *Cybèle*, D.-S. I, 1688.

(7) C. *I. L.* X, 3764 from Suessula; Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* 435.

reason for supposing with Graillot that Magna Mater worship was connected in any way with that of the ancient divinity of motherhood whose temple stood on the site known as the Fondo Patturelli (1). The former, however, may be looked upon as a successful rival of the older goddess, whose cult was already in a state of decline before the Oriental religions attained the acme of their popularity and influence.

MITHRAS.

No evidence remains for the worship of Mithras, as the reading of the inscription cited by Beloch to prove its existence is incorrect (2). Thus the Oriental religions have left remarkably few traces of their presence in comparison with the size and importance of the city. Yet it is unsafe to affirm with Beloch that these cults were only of minor importance here (3); in fact the remains that might throw some light on the state of religion in Capua are so comparatively scanty that little can be done to establish the degree of prominence attained by the various forms of worship.

JUDAISM.

An epitaph preserves the name of a leader of the Jewish community. This was Alfius Iuda, who was one of the *archontes*, a group of officials who are often mentioned but whose duties are not clearly understood. He was furthermore the religious head of his people, a rabbi or, as he is called here, an *archisynagogus* (4). A second inscription, discovered at Jerusalem, names a Jewish matron from Capua (5). Other inscriptions do not certainly refer to this race (6).

(1) Graillot 433. See p. 338 f.

(2) Beloch 332-333. See p. 361.

(3) Beloch *loc. cit.*

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 3905;... Alfius Iuda arcon arcosynagogus qui uixit etc. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain* I, 443 f., 450 (list of *archisynagogi*) Tamassia, *Gli Ebrei nell'Italia meridionale* in *Atti del r. Ist. Veneto* LXIII (1903-4) 806; Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes* (4) II, 511, III, 68; Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte* (8) IV, 238.

(5) *Revue biblique intern.* XI (1902) 106-107.

(6) Juster, *op. cit.* I, 182 (5); Harnack, *Die Mission u. Ausbr. d. Christentums* II, 217.

CHRISTIANITY.

The manner in which Christianity made its entrance into Capua is entirely unknown, but as usual attempts have been made to give the local church an apostolic foundation (1). It claimed a goodly number of martyrs, but even in the case of those whose authenticity is less questionable there is generally a complete ignorance in regard to the circumstance and date of their martyrdom. Lanzoni considers that nine of the alleged martyrs can be regarded as genuine (2). The most important saints to whom this glory has been attributed are called Priscus, Marcellus, Augustinus and Rufus. They are mentioned in the martyrology handed down under the name of Jerome and were among the figures portrayed is mosaics adorning the apse of the church of S. Prisco near the modern Capua, which have been dated in the fifth century (3). Priscus is included also in the spurious list of seventy disciples which circulated under the name of Hippolytus (4). An early Christian cemetery was located in the vicinity of the church of S. Prisco, where have been found numerous epitaphs bearing dates of the fourth century (5).

The earliest mention of a bishop who can be regarded as authentic occurs in a report of the church Council held at Rome in 313. The same bishop, who bore the name of Pro-

(1) A highly imaginat've account of the beginnings of Christianity is found in the eighteenth century work of Rinaldo, *Memorie istoriche della fedelissima città di Capua* I, 286 f.

(2) Lanzoni, *Le origini del cristianesimo e dell'episcopato nella Campania romana* in *Riv. storico-crit. delle scienze teol.* VI (1910) 29 f.; 32; Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs* 346.

(3) Pseudo-Jerome, *Martyrologium uetus* (Migne, *Patrol. Latina* XXX, 450 f.) where Priscus is named under date of Sept. I and Rufus under August 24, 26. These mosaics were destroyed in 1766. Garrucci, *Storia della arte cristiana* IV, P. 254; De Rossi, *Bull. arch, crist.* 1883 Pls. II, III, and 1884, 104-125; E. Müntz, *Rev. arch.* XVI (1891) 72 f.; Leclercq, *Capoue* in *Dict. d'arch. chrét.* II, 2065 f. Delehaye, *op. cit.* 344; Bertaux,*L'art dans l'Italie méridionale* 53.

(4) Pseudo-Hippolytus, *De LXX apostolis* (Migne, *Patrol. graeca* X, 956).

(5) De Rossi, *op. cit.* 110 f. The Christian inscriptions from Capua are discussed by Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2077 f.; *C. I. L.* X, 4487-4552.

terius, is included among the numbers of a second gathering of Church dignitaries held only a short time later at Arles (1). Constantine caused a basilica to be erected here, as is recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis,* and presented it with various sacred vessels of use in its services (2).

(1) Optat. I, 22; *Concilium episcoporum Arelatense ad Silvestrum papam* in *Sylloge Optatiana;* Mansi, *Amplissima collectio conciliorum* II, 437, 476; Harnack *op. cit.* II, 217. Cp. Duchesne, *Le dossier du Donatisme* in *Mélanges* X (1890) 590 f.

(2) *Liber Pontificalis,* Silvester XXXI (Duchesne I, 185); Leclercq. *op. cit.* 2064.

CHAPTER VIII.

NOLA AND THE MINOR CAMPANIAN TOWNS.

In the eastern portion of the great Campanian plain lay the territory subject to the city of Nola. This district, embracing a considerable area, was surrounded by the smaller holdings of a large number of the Campanian towns. On the south it was bounded by the possessions of Nuceria and Pompeii, whose northern limits formed a straight line eastward from Mt. Vesuvius; on the southwest and west, by the territory of Herculaneum, Neapolis and Acerrae; and on the north and northwest, by that of Suessula and Abella. Toward the east the jurisdiction of Nola was separated from the land of Abellinum by a rough and mountainous district.

The ancient Nola, occupying the identical site of the modern town, was built along the Appian way, which here stretches from north to south. Although no great distance from the mountains on the east, it was built like Capua entirely upon the plain, and consequently was without natural means of defence. Unlike that city however, it appears not to have been laid out according to any regular plan. The fertility of the surrounding country, which Vergil praised as equal to the plain of Capua, and an extensive and lucrative commerce brought wealth and luxury in the early centuries. Greek culture was welcomed with enthusiasm. During the Empire Nola obtained some distinction by the fact that both Vergil and Augustus had estates here and especially by the circumstance that the latter here ended his life (1).

(1) Beloch 399.

Nola is said to have been occupied originally by the mysterious Ausonians. While there is little probability that a Chalcidian settlement was made here, as claimed by some Roman writers, there is good reason for thinking that this localty formed a part of the conquests of the Etruscans. But when Nola first appeared in history at the beginning of the fifth century B. C., it was under the sway of the Samnites, and joined in aiding the Campanian Greeks against the Romans. During this struggle it was taken by storm and henceforth became tributary to Rome. When Hannibal became master of Capua, a strong sentiment developed in his favor at Nola, but as a result of the efforts of the local senate the allegiance to Rome was maintained. In the Social War the city came under the power of the Samnites, and was only recaptured by Sulla at the close of a decade of efforts for its subjection (80 B. C.). A few years later it was plundered by the hordes of Spartacus (73 B. C.).

As a result of these reverses, Nola became quite insignificant. It was colonized at different times, first probably by Sulla and afterwards by the Emperors. In the later Empire it again became a place of importance, sometimes the seat of the provincial governor and the residence of the noted bishop Paulinus. In 410 it once more suffered capture at the hands of Alaric (1).

In comparison with the size and importance of Nola very meager evidence has been transmitted about its religious conditions. This condition is due chiefly to the lack of systematic excavation. The domain of Nola like that of Capua comprised various *pagi* the names of which have been in part preserved. Unlike those around Capua, however, they were not named from gods, and no information has been preserved relative to their religious exercises (2).

(1) For the history of Nola see Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 142; Beloch 389-392; A. Sambon I, 310 f.; Mariotti, *De urbis Nolae antiquissima historia adnotatiunculae* in *Arch. stor. campano* I (1889) 173 f.; Nissen, *It. Landesk*, II, 755.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1278-1280; *N. S.* 1900, 101; Stein *Jahresber. über die Forts. der class. Alterthumsw.* CXL (1909) 243.

JUPITER.

In regard to the cult of Jupiter the evidence is very unsatisfactory. That the god was recognized here is proved by the appearance of the name *regio Iouia* applied to one of the municipal divisions (1). But it is impossible to prove that the cult was old, since the name of the *regio* is preserved only in a late inscription. Furthermore the designation of the other district that has been preserved, the *regio Romana* points to the naming of the parts of the city with these designations at a comparatively late date after Roman influence predominated. On the other hand a comparison with the other Campanian cities indicates the worship of an Oscan Jupiter in the early period, and it is practically certain that he was present at that time.

According to the old antiquarian Leone a temple of Jupiter occupied the site of the Cathedral, and its pavement is to be found in the chapel of S. Felice. The evidence for the presence of the distinctly Roman cult of the Capitoline Jupiter will be treated in a later section (2).

CERES, DIONYSUS, VENUS.

Demeter, Cora, and Dionysus were probably worshipped here in the mysteries as elsewhere in southern Italy. But the so- called Nolan vases which often reproduce the figures of these deities, especially Dionysus, were probably an importation rather than the product of local factories; hence they do not offer competent evidence for the cult of these gods (3). Dionysus is mentioned once at the very close of Paganism in the works of Paulinus of Nola, who attacks the non-Christian

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 1255=D. 6348: Clementiani. Pollio Iulio Clementiano u. p. patrono inimitabili, largissimo, cuius facta enarari (*sic*) non possunt. Eius meritis regio Iouia statuam censuit.

(2) Leone, *De Nola* Chap. 8; Beloch 403; Remondini, *Della Nolana ecclesiastica storia* I, 80. Both Remondini and Leone located a temple of Jupiter Seruator on the site of S. Salvatore in the southeastern part of the city.

(3) Lenormant, *La Grande-Grèce* I, 407; Walters, *Hist. Anc. Pottery* I, 82; Patroni, *La ceramica antica nell'Italia meridionale* in *Atti Nap.* XIX (1897-8) part 2, 33.

denunciation Dionysus is assailed along with Venus. The tone beliefs and practices of his fellow citizens (1). In the Bishop's of the passage, however, shows that the vices and debauchery with which these divinities were particularly associated rather than their specific cults formed the object of his condemnation, and that his chief warfare was directed against vice and intemperance. It does not indicate any noteworthy cult of Venus and Bacchus. Much less can one say with the old writer Gorio that the former was worshipped zealously as Venus Augusta (2).

APOLLO AND ATHENA.

The head of Athena wearing an Athenian type of helmet appears upon many coins of Nola belonging to the fourth century B. C., while Apollo is found upon issues of both silver and bronze, which were minted in the third century (about 270 B. C. and later) under Roman domination (3). This money, however, which exhibits on one side the man-headed bull, is regarded by numismatists as an imitation of the coinage of Neapolis, and so offers little evidence for the worship of these divinities. Remondini erroneously considered that there was evidence for a temple of Apollo (4).

MINOR DEITIES.

Under this head may be grouped the divinities, who were perhaps important in the life of the community, yet have left almost no traces of their influence. Diana's worship is proved by one mutilated inscription recording a dedication made by a

(1) Paulinus of Nola, *carmen* XIX, 169 f.:

> Sic itaque et nostra haec Christi miserantis amore
> Felicis meruit muniri Nola sepulchro.....
> .....in qua
> prostibulum Veneris simul et dementia Bacchi
> numina erant miseris, foedoque nefaria ritu
> sacra celebrabat sociata libido furori.....

(2) Gorio, quoted by Remondini, *op. cit.* 1, 93. The inscription that was formerly adduced as proof for the cult of Ceres and even for a temple has been pronounced a forgery. *C. I. L.* X, 175*, Remondini, *op. cit.* I, 81.

(3) A. Sambon 317-19, 385-6; Head 40-1; Garrucci 92, Pl. 89.

(4) Remondini, 1, 89.

certain D. Granius at the bidding of the goddess (1). She was probably adored at a local shrine. A *magister Mercurialis* is recorded in the person of L. Sattius Phileros, a freedman belonging to the age of Augustus; for an early cult of Mercury no evidence is at hand (2). Remondini, using the uncritical methods of his age, claimed the existence of a temple of Mercury, and likewise of various other deities such as Victoria, Flora, and Cybele (3).

JUNO.

Besides the cults located in or near the city a record has been left of two others whose sanctuaries were some distance away. Somewhere in the district surrounding Nola there existed in early times a town or village called Celemna, which is mentioned by Vergil in an enumeration of Campanian localities; it disappeared entirely as a separate community, but Servius states that the place continued to be sacred to Juno (4). In his attempt to prove the recent origin of the Juno cult as a result of Roman influence in Campania and elsewhere, Otto disregards this passage as of no importance (5). Yet while it is indefinite, the fact that a shrine stood here apparently as late as the Empire, when the town had ceased to exist or at least had greatly declined, indicates that both together flourished at an early period. As the tendency of a spot once consecrated to maintain its sanctity is well known, it is probable that the worship of Juno was continued in this shrine long after the decay of the community that established it.

HERCULES.

More is known about the cult of Hercules, which the people of Nola carried on jointly with the residents of Abella;

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 1234: D. Granius Her.... ex imper(io) Dianae d.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1272=D. 6351=Vagl'eri 1763: L. Sattio L. *l.* Phileroti magistro Mercuriali et Augustalei Nolae, et Daeriae ↄ l. Rufae uxori *etc.*—

(3) Remondini, *op. cit.* I, 97, 89, 94.

(4) Verg. *Aen.* VII, 739; Servius' comment: Locus Campaniae est Celemna, sacer Iunoni. Roscher, *Iuno,* Roscher II, 605.

(5) Otto, *Iuno* in *Philologus* LXIV (1905) 174.

as the latter city, in spite of its inferior importance, is named first in the record it perhaps had a nominal precedence in the settlement of affairs connected with the cult. None of this superority appears, however, in the various provisions for the management of the shrine, which are preserved in an important Oscan inscription, the *cippus Abellanus* (1). These regulations were drawn up by a superior magistrate of each town assisted by a committee selected for this business by the respective senates. According to the agreement then formulated the territory around the shrine and any building erected upon it were considered as the joint possession of both; within the sacred precinct itself no one was permitted to build, the treasury was common property and any division of its funds was made on the principle of share and share alike. The temple was evidently on the border of the lands held by the two cities, but its exact location is unknown. The inscription has been assigned to the middle of the second century B. C., but contains regulations for a shrine that had long existed. Nor is it likely that many of its provisions were innovations (2).

ROMAN CULTS.

The Roman colonists at Nola had their official priests two of whom, the augur and the pontiff, are recorded in inscriptions. No individual who held the latter office is known, but the name of an incumbent of the former, Fisius Serenus Rutilius Caesianus has been preserved in two epitaphs (3).

The evidence for a Capitolium at Nola is untrustworthy. Its presence is definitely asserted in the *Acta sancti Felicis presbyteri Romani*, where the Saint is represented as calling upon his persecutors to conduct him into the presence of their

(1) Buck, No, 1 (with ample commentary); von Planta, No. 127; Conway, No. 95. Cesano, *Hercules*, Ruggiero, III, 714.

(2) For references to shrines managed jointly see Buck, *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* 228.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1269: Fisiae Sex. f. Rufinae sorori Fisi Sereni aug(uris) Larum ministri l. d. d. d. X, 1275: .....Fisio Sereno Rutilio Caesiano Iluiro auguri uixit etc. X, 1281: .....q. bis, praef. bis, Iluir pontifex .....menta statuas d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua) f(ecit).....

greatest god up on the Capitol (1). But two saints of the same name have been confused by the author of this account, and *acta* of this class, which show a tendency to associate a Capitol with the various martyrs are in general unreliable. Hence the assertions about such a temple in this community must be received with scepticism (2). At the same time there is no improbability is supposing that it was present. As the city was built on level ground, the Capitol, if it existed, was doubtless elevated as much as possible by the employment of massive substructures; such indeed seems to have been the regular mode of procedure in similar circumstances (3).

The colonists also recognized and revered the protecting spirit of their settlement, as is demonstrated by an inscription recording the benefactions of C. Catius in honor of the Genius of the colony and the colonists (4). The term Genius occurs again in a very brief inscription coupled with the Lares. Here, as appears from a comparison with the evidence from Pompeii, allusion is made to the Genius of the master of the house and to the Lares of the system of worship reorganized by Augustus (5). A body of *ministri*, who probably served the domestic cult of a leading citizen, have left a dedication in honor of the sister of the augur Fisius Serenus (6).

THE IMPERIAL CULT.

The mention of the cult of the Genius offers an easy transition to a discussion of the adoration of the Emperor, several phases of which have left their traces. Because of the fact that Augustus owned here a hereditary estate and here ended

(1) *Acta sanctorum* January II, 233. Sed si uultis probare uirtutem domini mei Iesu Christi, me ad Capitolium ire iubete, ut ipsum louem principem daemoniorum uestrorum ruere faciam.

(2) Kuhfeldt, *De Capitoliis imperii Romani* 19; Allard, *Les Capitoles provinciaux et les actes des martyrs* in *La science catholique* I (1887) 361; Castan, *Les Capitoles provinciaux du monde romain* 25.

(3) See pp. 243, 364.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 1236=D. 5392: C. Catius M. f. IIIIuir campum publice aequandum curauit, maceriem et scholas et solarium, semitam de s. p. f. c. Genio coloniae et colonorum honoris causa, quod perpetuo feliciter utantur.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 1235: Genio et Laribus.

(6) *C. I. L.* X, 1269. See p. 382 (3).

his life, the community felt that in him they had a deity attached to them by special ties, and took a corresponding interest in his worship. The Augustales naturally formed an important organization, which was called either simply *Augustales* or *ordo Augustalium*. Their activity included the adoration of the Victoria Augusta in whose honor they made a dedication. The only indication of date in the three extant inscriptions that refer to the organization collectively occurs in a fragment belonging in time after the deification of Titus (1). The names of at least two of the members have been preserved, both of whom seem to have been freedmen (2).

Another inscription records the name of L. Sattius Phileros, a *magister Mercurialis et Augustalis* (3). There is some uncertainty as to whether the last word in the man's title should be taken as a qualifying adjective with *magister* or whether it refers to a separate office. Mommsen believed that the first alternative was true, but this man, who belonged to the *libertini*, may well have been an Augustalis as well as an official in another department of the Imperial cult. At any rate the worship of Mercury here as at Pompeii undoubtedly became blended with the cult of Augustus on the basis of the supposed resemblance of the Emperor to that deity (4). The inscription recording this office is assigned by Dessau on the authority of Mommsen to the life time of Augustus. To the same period belongs another inscription relating that the Laurinienses, who were seemingly the inhabitants of a *uicus* or *pagus* in the territory of Nola, had restored some object, probably an altar, used in the Imperial cult. These people refer to themselves on the

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 1237: Victoriae Aug. Augustales; *C. I. L.* X, 1249. See p. 385 (3). *C. I. L.* X, 1261: ....procuratori diui Vespasiani et diui Titi Augustales l, d. d. d.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1267: Caesiae Archeni Concus M. Critonio Hipparco Augustali etc.; *C. I. L.* X, 1268: .....L. Caluidio L. l. Felici Augustali locus datus utrisque ex decurion. decret. etc.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1272=D. 6351. See p. 263 f.

(4) Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 142a; Mourlot, *L'histoire de l'Augustalité dans l'empire romain* 81. The inscriptions that present Augustus as Mercurius Augustus are collected by de Ruggiero, *Augustus*, Ruggiero I, 926. See p. 264 f.

same stone as *cultores* (1). This inscription, which must be dated prior to the death of Augustus because he is not alluded to as a *Diuus*, is accompanied by sculptured reliefs referring to a sacrificial scene.

Above all others devoted to the worship of the Emperor was the flamen, who was regularly a man of prominence in civic affairs. Among the holders of the priesthood was L. Curiatius, who was an army officer (2). To the same cult belonged the *flamen perpetuus*, L. Claudius Pollio Iulianus Iulius Gallicanus, who belonged to the senatorial order and filled important offices for the Roman people at home and abroad. He lived during the later Empire, but although he is named as consul, his date is uncertain (3). The exact significance of the word *perpetuus* in this man's title is disputed (4).

Two places are known to have received consecration in honor of Augustus. Immediately after his death the house in which he died was converted into a shrine (5). Preparations were doubtless made at once looking toward the erection of a splendid temple, which was completed only after the lapse of some years. When Tiberius determined to retire to the island of Capri, one of the pretexts which he announced for visiting the region of Campania was the desire to be present at the dedication of a temple consecrated to the divine Augustus at Nola. This notice fixes the date of the dedication as 26 A. D. (6).

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 1238: Augusto sacrum. Restituerunt Laurinienses pecunia sua. Cultores d(onum) d(ederunt). Cp. Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* III (1845) 102. The inscriptions of the various cultores are collected by Breccia, *Cultores*, Ruggiero II, 1296.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1262: L. Curiatio L. f. flamini diui Augusti prim. pil. trib. milit. II praef. castr. praef. fabr. arbitratu Hyacinthi lib.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1249 = Vaglieri 1484: L. Cl. Pollioni Iuliano Iulio Gallicano c. u. Xuiro sclitibus (*sic*) iudicandis quaest. candidato, adlec(to) inter pretor(ios), procos. prou. Baetic(ae) legato prou. Asiae, patrono col., flamini perpet(uo), ordo Augustal(ium).

(4) Jullian, *Flamen*, D.-S. II, 2088; Hirschfeld, *Hermes* XXVI (1891) 150; Beurlier, *Le culte impérial* 183 f.; Herbst, *De sacerdotiis Romanorum municipalibus* 61.

(5) Dio Cassius LVI, 46, 3: καὶ οἱ καὶ ἡ ἐν Νώλῃ οἰκία, ἐν ᾗ μετήλλαξεν ἐτεμενίσθη.

(6) Tac. *ann.* IV, 57; Suet. *Tib.* 40.

Beloch locates this temple southwest of the modern city near the railroad station where important ruins once existed. For this identification, which goes back to the antiquarian Leone, an inscription reading templum Augusti was cited, but this evidence was rightly classed as spurious by Mommsen (1). Such a designation does not fit the sanctuary at Nola; as this was finished long after the death of Augustus, it should have referred to him as a *Diuus*. The location of the temple is therefore uncertain. Likewise no evidence exists for maintaining that a shrine for the worship of Hadrian was established here (2).

ORIENTAL RELIGIONS.

Allusions to the religions that came from the Orient are not frequent. Paulinus of Nola, speaking of pagan ceremonies performed by bands of *semiuiri* seems to refer to the mysteries of Magna Mater as celebrated in his day (3). An epitaph regarded by Tamassa as of no great antiquity is partly written in Hebrew (4).

The city became an important Christian center but no details relative to the establishement or early history of the Church have been preserved. At the end of the third or in the fourth century lived a priest called Felix, who suffered as a confessor of the faith during the persecutions but did not meet the doom of a martyr. But he was honored with the tribute due to one who had suffered a glorious martyrdom, and received the eulogies of the renowned bishop Paulinus, who was devoted to his cult (5).

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 174*; Remondini *Della Nolana ecclesiastica storia*, 1, 85; Beloch 404.

(2) Remondini 1, 97.

(3) Paul. Nol. *carm.* XXXII, 88: Nunc quoque semiuiri mysteria turpia plangunt.....; Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* 551 (5).

(4) C. *I. L.* X, 1367; Tamassia, *Atti del r. Inst. Vencto* LXIII (1903-4) 807.

(5) Greg. Tur., *glor. mart.* CIII; Aug. *cur. mort.* XVI; Paul Nol., *carm.* XIV, XVI, XVIII etc.; Lucius, *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkults in der christlichen Kirche* 174 (2); Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs* 347; Lanzoni, *Le origini del cristianesimo nella Campania romana* in *Riv. storico-crit. delle scienze teol.* VI (1910) 280.

According to a legend contained in the *Acta Sanctorum* three virgins Archelaa, Thecla and Susanna who had come from Rome suffered martyrdom under Diocletian (1). North of Nola in a spot called *Cimitile* was an ancient Christian cemetery which has yielded a goodly number of epitaphs, some of which have been dated in the fourth century (2). Here St. Felix was buried, and over his grave according to the custom of the time was reared a basilica (3).

In the flat, east central portion of the Campanian plain were situated the town and tributary country of Acerrae. The town itself occupied the site of the modern Acerra. It was a small district, low and swampy as a result of the overflowing of the Clanius, and lay between the little district of Atella on the one hand and the broad domains of Nola on the other. Its neighbor on the north was Suessula; on the south it touched the borders of the Neapolitan territory. Like its nearest neighbors to the north and west it was an unimportant place with an uneventful history. Subject successively to the power of Samnium and Rome, it suffered destruction in the Hannibalic War as a result of its loyalty to the latter city, but after the fall of Capua was rebuilt. (211 B. C.) Beneath its walls the Romans won an important battle in the Social War against the attack of Papius Mutilus. Its inhabitants were few in the epoch of the Empire, though certain veterans of Augustus were settled here (4).

The few inscriptions dealing with religious matters belong exclusively to the Empire, and from one cause or another do not afford us any certain information (5). One connected with the cult of the Emperors mentions a temple, but the mutilated con-

(1) *Acta sanctorum* January II, 555.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1338-1400.

(3) Delehaye, *loc. cit.*; H. Holzinger, *Die Basilika des Paulinus zu Nola* in *Zeits. fur bildende Kunst* XX (1885) 135 f.; Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie meridionale* 31 f.

(4) Beloch 382; Hülsen, *Acerrae*, P.-W. I, 154; de Ruggiero, *Acerrae* Ruggiero, I, 25; Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 362.

(5) An abbreviated inscription, *C. I. L.* X, 3758 may belong to the res sacrae. It reads C. Fuficio C. f. Fal. Fangoni h. p. aed. ex testamento. The supplement is generally made homini probo aedili, but it may also be made to read *heredes posuerunt aediculam.*

dition of the stone renders a sure interpretation impossible (1). It evidently contained originally seven iambic senarii flattering the ruler, and was due to a *primopilaris* L. Aurelius Rufus; from the mode of designating his legion the inscription is assigned to the first century A. D. The words of the first line *templum hoc sacratum Her* were first completed so as to form the word *Herculi,* but Mommsen's supplements first *heroum* and later *heroibus* seem more probable and have been generally accepted. According to his first opinion the Emperor who is flattered here is Domitian; according to his later opinion the inscription deals with a shrine of the *lares Augusti,* where under the appellation ἥρωες the grandsons of Augustus, Gaius and Lucius Caesar were honored (2).

The reading of the next inscription is certain, but there is some doubt about its provenience. It is an honorary decree passed by the ingenui honorati and Augustales in honor of a distinguished benefactor of the community Gn. Stennius Egnatius, who was a priest of Isis and Serapis. If the stone really belongs to Acerrae, it proves the existence here not only of the cult of the Emperors, which was everywhere prevalent, but also of the worship of the gods of Egypt, whose presence in a little inland town is much more remarkable. Noteworthy is the circumstance that the priest was a man of high standing who had filled all the municipal offices (3).

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 3757=Vaglieri 1133: Templum hoc sacratum her(oibus qui) quod ger(unt)

Augusti nomen, felix (illis) remaneat,
stirpis suae laetetur u(t regno) parens.
Nam quom te, Caesar, tem(pus) exposcet deum
caeloque repetes sed(em, qua) mundum reges,
sint hei, tua quei sorte te(rrae) huic imperent
regantque nos felicibus uoteis sueis.

L. Aurelius L. f. Pal. Rufus primopilaris etc.; Minervini, *Bull. Nap.* n. s. IV (1856) 155; Nissen, *Inschriften aus Campanien* in *Hermes* I (1866) 151; de Ruggiero, *op. cit.*, 26.

(2) Nissen, *loc. cit.* thought that the ruler to whom allus'on was made was Claudius and that there was a vague reference to his successor that would include both Nero and Brittanicus.

(3) C. *I. L.* X, 3759=Vaglieri 2001; Heuresi. Gn. Stennio Egnatio Gn. Stenni Egnati Rufi fil. Fal. Primo, iiiiuir(o) iterum q(uin) q(uennali), omnibus oneribus et honoribus functo, sac(erdoti) p(ublico) deae Isidis et Serapidis.

The territory of Abella comprised a narrow valley in the extreme northeastern part of the Campanian territory, separated from Samnium by the lofty Mons Tabernus (Monte Vergine). On the south this district was limited by the possessions of Nola, a more powerful city with which Abella generally had friendly relations. The ancient town site is situated northwest of the present Avella at the foot of the mountain already mentioned. Quite overshadowed in importance by its southern neighbor Nola, it never became prominent; but, though it always remained small and obscure, it possessed the public buildings such as theater, basilica, and ampitheater that were regularly found in more important places, and carried on an active municipal life.

As a result of the comparative insignificance of Abella, reference is seldom made to it in history. As in the case of Nola a few writers claimed for it a Chalcidian origin; actually we find it first under the control of the Samnites and having definite relations with Nola. After coming under the Roman power it continued steadfast in its allegiance at all times with the result that during the Social War it was burned by a band from Nola (87 B. C.). It was made a Roman colony perhaps by Augustus, though this matter is quite uncertain. In the fourth century Paulinus of Nola praised it as a zealous Christian community (1).

Information about religious conditions is exceedingly scanty. On a series of vases from Abella the relation of the god Dionysus to the cult of the dead is particularly noticeable (2). The temple of Hercules shared by this town with Nola has been already discussed. As the Abellans in spite of the smallness of their city are mentioned first in the treaty, this circumstance may indicate that their right to the worship and protection of this god was considered of paramount importance (3). One inscription mentions an association of the *cultores Iouis,* who desired

curat(ori) operum publ., ingenui, honorati et Augustales patrono dignissimo etc. The ascription to Acerrae rests on the testimony of one witness (Lupoli) alone. Drexler, *Isis,* Roscher II, 399.

(1) Beloch 411 f.; Hülsen, *Abella,* P.-W. I, 27; de Ruggiero, *Abella,* Ruggiero I, 15; Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 136.

(2) Patroni, *La ceramica antica nell'It. merid.* in *Atti Nap.* XIX (1897-8) part. 2, 171.

(3) See p. 381 f.

to honor a distinguished benefactor, N. Pettius Rufus, by the erection of a statue. The association forms one of a considerable number connected with various phases of the god Jupiter, as revealed by the extant epigraphical evidence. While closely associated with the local cult of the god, these people doubtless formed a society the principal object of which was to provide proper burial for the nembers (1). Another inscription, bearing the date of Jan. 1, 28 A. D., states that L. Poppaeus Vrbanus dedicated to Apollo a statue and pedestal (2). The cult of Venus Iouia existed here as at Capua; this is attested by the name of one priestess which has been preserved. This woman was called officially *sacerdos Iouiae Veneriae Abellanorum* (3). A fragment seems to allude to an *aedicula*, but there is no indication to show what god was worshipped there (4).

ROMAN CULTS.

Religious officials of the Roman colony are represented by the mention of an augur in a small fragment of an inscription (5). More evidence is available for proving the worship of the Emperors, but is confined to a few notices relative to the *collegium* of Augustales. M. Plaetorius Onirus was a *biselliarius* and re-

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 1216; N. Pettio N. f. Gal. Rufo Iluir, q. aliment. q. pec. publicae curatori frument. cultores Iouis ob meritum eius l. d. d. d. The instances of the cultores connected with the worship of Jupiter are collected by Breccia, *Cultores*, Ruggiero II, 1296.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1196=Vaglieri 1027: Ap. Iunio Silano, P. Silio Nerua cos., k. Ianuar L. Poppaeus Vrbanus Apolloni signum sacr. sedemque dikauit.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1207=Vaglieri 1984=D. 3186: Auilliae Aeliane, matri Egnati Rufi equitis Romani sacerdoti Iouiae Veneriae Abellanorum .... The inscription is interpreted by Vaglieri as an allusion to a priestess who served both Jupiter and Venus, but the appearance of a priestess of Jupiter is odd; Dessau considers that the form *sacerdotis* is meant in the inscription with a reference to Egnatius Rufus as priest. But it seems more probable that the intention of the writer of the inscription was to express the name of a goddess identical with the Venus Iouia worshipped at Capua or at least similar to her.

(4) *C. I. L.* X, 1197.

(5) *C. I. L.* X, 1203.

ceived the distinction of the *ornamenta decurionalia* (1). This community at first had officials called *magistri Augustales*, one of whom Q. Calidius Epaphroditus is recorded in an epitaph. This man held also the position of quaestor probably in the same *collegium*. The inscription belongs to the first century as no *magistri* of the Augustales are cited later than that period (2).

SUESSULA.

The location of Suessula is determined by the *Tabula Peutingerana*, which places it nine miles from Capua and the same distance from Nola. It lay therefore on an important branch of the *uia Appia* between the two great inland cities of Campania a little to the west of the modern town of Cancello, where in a place called *Bosco d'Acerra* considerable remains were still in existence in the eighteenth century. Its territory, which was bounded on the south by that of Acerrae, had its greatest extent toward the north and in that direction reached to the borders of Samnium. As it stood at the entrance to the Fauces Caudinae, it was a place of strategic importance, but the ground itself in this locality has always been low, and is at present largely a swamp.

The first mention of the town in history occurs in connection with the events of 338 B. C., when the citizens received from Rome the privilege of limited citizenship. Afterward it is frequently referred to in the wars against the Samnites and against Hannibal, in which it formed the base of the Roman operations in Campania. It received a colony from Sulla. In the early Middle Ages it is mentioned not infrequently, but at last was deserted by its inhabitants because of the prevalence of malaria (3).

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 1217=Vaglieri 1986: N. Plaetorio Oniro, Augustali biselliario, honorato ornamentis decurionalibus populus Abellanus aere conlato, quod auxerit ex suo ad annonariam pecuniam etc. Mourlot, *Essai sur l'hist. de l'Augustalité* 98.

(2) *C. I. L.* X, 1209=Vaglieri 1985: Diis manib. Q. Calidius Epaphroditus, magister Aug(ustalium), quaestor uiuos sibi et Critoniae uxori. Hoc m. s. s. est h. n. s. Von Premerstein, *Augustales*, Ruggiero I, 836. It is possible that this inscription comes from Nola.

(3) Beloch 385; F. Lenormant, *Les fouilles de Suessula* in *Gaz. des beaux-arts* XXI (1880) 105; Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 363.

All the information about the religion of Suessula that has come down to us is contained in a single inscription; this is a dedication made by the *cultores* of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in honor of a patron L. Pompeius Felicissimus (1). This personage, who was a man of prominence in the community, is described as an *immunis dendrophorus* and as a *sacerdos* of the Great Mother. In other words he received his position in the association without any payment on his part, and as happened elsewhere was interested in two phases of the cult of the great Phrygian deity. As elsewhere too in southern Italy he held his appointment as priest by virtue of an authorization on the part of the Roman board of *quindecemuiri,* who had the oversight of this religion in the various Italian towns (2). The shrine of Magna Mater, however, was not located in the town of Suessula itself, but stood four or five miles away in a tributary village called Vicus Nouanensis, which was situated in the northern part of the territory belonging to Suessula (3). The site of the temple was perhaps the hill upon which now stands the church of S. Maria in Vico. Here then as in other localities in Campania and the vicinity the goddess was venerated as a hill goddess and as a divinity connected with healing waters (4). As at Capua she seems to have been revered on the same mountain that bore a shrine of Jupiter, so here her cult was intimately associated with that of the same god, and her representative was honored by the association which bore his name (5).

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 3764=D. 6341=Vaglieri 1966: L. Pompeio Felicissimo immuni dendr. Suessul(ae) et sacerd(oti) M(atris) d(eum) xvuir(inali) et q. alim. et omnibus rebus ac munerib(us) perfuncto, cultor(es) I(ouis) o(ptim)i S(uessulani? Hortensens (*sic*) patron. b. m., ob sing erga se liberalitatem et praestantiam l. d.d. (*sic*). The epithet applied to Jupiter is uncertain on account of the abbreviation. Besides the supplement suggested in the text, *s(anctissimi)* is sometimes given. For the *cultores* of this god see p. 389.

(2) The instances of investiture at the hands of the *quindecimuiri* are collected by Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* 228. See p. 88 and the references there.

(3) This place was called later Mutation Nouae (Itiner. Hierosol.) and Ad Nouas (Tabula Puet.)

(4) Graillot, *op. cit.* 246, 419, 433. Local tradition attests the presence of a temple on this site; Beloch 388.

(5) Graillot 435 (4).

LITERNUM.

Liternum was situated on the Campanian coast about half way between Cape Misenum and the mouth of the Volturnus River, where today stands the tower and village of Tor di Patria. Its situation was unhealthy because of the stagnation of the water formed by the lower course of the Clanius River, which at that time found its way to the sea with great difficulty. The shore, flat, sandy and marshy, has always been covered with woods, the ancient *silua Gallinaria*. Since the location of the town was so unfavorable, it never became important, and its designation in the early Empire is *ignobilis* (1). It first appears in history at the end of the Second Punic War as one of the ten units under the jurisdiction of the *praefectus Capuam Cumas*. It became a Roman colony the same year that settlers were sent to Puteoli and Vulturnum, its neighbor to the north. (194 B. C.). Here Scipio Africanus (the Elder) possessed a villa to which he retired when he gave up public life, and here he died. During the Empire the town continued to exist, but is mentioned only by the geographers (2).

GREEK AND ROMAN DEITIES.

The only literary reference to Liternum that is connected in any way with religion is a vague allusion in the poem of Silius, who in his account of Hannibal's arrival in Campania states that the leader viewed the homes and temple of swampy Liternum (3). But here the author probably had in mind no real temple, and merely mentioned such a building as a preliminary to his description of the deeds of Roman heroes, which ostensibly were pictured there.

(1) Val. Max. V, 3. 2,

(2) For the history and geography of this place see Nissen, *It. Landesk.* II, 713--5; Mommsen, *C. I. L.* X, p. 356; Beloch 377.

(3) Sil. VI, 653-657:

> Hic dum stagnosi spectat templumque domosque
> Literni ductor, uaria splendentia cernit
> pictura belli patribus monumenta prioris
> exhausti-nam porticibus signata manebant -
> quis inerat longus rerum et spectabilis ordo.

An inscription, discovered in this district, mentions the distinguished actor of pantomimes L. Aurelius Apolaustus as a *parasitus* and *sacerdos* of Apollo; these positions, however, were held in connection with the society of actors which had its headquarters in Rome, and have nothing to do with Liternum (1). Venus gave her name to a bathing establishment, which was restored in the fourth century A. D. by Domitius Seuerianus, governor of the province, but has left no traces of her cult (2).

MAGNA MATER.

A mutilated inscription discovered in this vicinity in 1885 alludes to the cult of Magna Mater, and contains the term *sacerdos* and a part of the phrase *condidit uires* regularly used in reference to the taurobolium (3). The meaning of the latter expression is not entirely clear on account of the indefiniteness of the word *uires*. According to one interpretation it has reference especially to the blood of the bull which the initiated received and regarded as a potent means of regeneration. Generally it is understood as signifying some specific portion of the bull's anatomy, particularly the genital organs, which in such a case was considered sacred (4).

It has been supposed that the words in the inscription immediately before *condidit* were originally *ad Hamas*, an allusion to the small village east of Cumae which is treated elsewhere.

(1) *C. I. L.* X, 3716=D. 5189. This actor, whose full name was L. Aelius Aurelius Apolaustus Memphis, was a freedman of Marcus Aurelius and Verus, and is mentioned in six inscriptions. See p. 356 and the references there cited.

(2) *N. S.* 1885, 80=*E. E.* VIII, 456=D. 5693: Balneum Veneris lon(gi tempo)ris uetustate corruptum Domitius Seuerianus u. c. cons(olaris) Campaniae ad pristinam faciem (aedifi)cauit, curante hac (*sic*) dedican(te) Sentio Marso u. c. comite diuinorum, curatore Capuensium, Literni(norum) et Cumanorum.

(3) *N. S.* 1885, 81=*E. E.* 455: sacerdos....., Matris deum..... hamas condidit.

(4) Zippel, *Das Taurobolium* in *Festchrift für Friedländer* 502 f.; Gohler, *De Matris Magnae apud Romanos cultu* 55; Espérandieu, *Taurobolium*, D.-S. V, 49; C. H. Moore *The Distribution of Oriental Cults* in *Trans. and Proc. of the Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXVIII (1907) 132; Fiorelli, *N. S.* 1885, 81.

It seems more probable, however, to assign the temple to Liternum itself rather than to the little village of Hamae, and to consider that before *condidit* stood the name of the man who received the energy of the bull from the ceremony of the taurobolium. At any rate a cult and shrine were found in this region. Graillot supposes that this was a very old foundation, the work of the first Roman colonists (1). But this would take it back to a time only ten years later than the official arrival of the goddess in Rome. It would be necessary to assume a wide popularity immediately among the citizenship of Rome; otherwise when a few hundred colonists were sent to Liternum there would be no likelihood that any considerable proportion of them would be interested in the cult. As a matter of fact, though the Italian municipalities followed the example of the capital in recognizing the legality of the new cult, it seems at first to have progressed slowly in winning adherents outside of the lowest classes (2). It is more natural to suppose that at Liternum, where there was no large foreign element, the cult was fairly late, and introduced only when it had become fairly well established elsewhere in Campania.

(1) Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* 432.

(2) Von Domaszewski, *Magna Mater in Latin Inscriptions* in *Jour. Rom. Stud.* I (1911) 50.

ADDENDA.

A considerable number of inscriptions, for the most part broken and badly mutilated, are preserved in the National Museum of Naples and elsewhere without any indication of the source from which they came. In the *Corpus* of Latin inscriptions they are included with those from Puteoli, although the author of this part of the work states that their provenience is uncertain (1). Most writers who have had occasion to cite this evidence assign it definitely to Puteoli, — an inaccuracy without important consequences for a general study of the different cults but inadmissible in a detailed investigation of the separate localities. Hence it has seemed better to treat here this class of inscriptions.

JUPITER.

An Oscan cult of Jupiter is mentioned in an inscription which Dubois without warrant assigns to Puteoli and de Ruggiero erroneously declares to have been unearthed at Pompeii. Capasso, differing from both the others, assigns the cult to Neapolis (2). This notice relates that T. Flauius Antipater in company with his wife and a freedman Alcides gave images of Aesculapius and Hygia as votive offerings to a Jupiter Flazzus or Flazius (3). The significance of his epithet is not well understood, but has been interpreted on the basis of a connection with *flagare* and φλέγειν. The god is evidently one of the various deities of the bright sky found so frequently throughout Italy, and is similar to the Jupiter Flagius who was worshipped at

(1) The index of *C. I. L.* X, which includes all these under Puteoli, is very misleading.

(2) Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* 138 and *Cultes et dieux à Pouzzoles* in *Mélanges* XXII (1902) 30; De Ruggiero, *Flazzus*, Ruggiero III, 161 Capasso, *Napoli greco-romana* 61; Capaccio, *Historia Neapolitana* I, 212.

(3) *C. I. L.* X, 1571=D. 3852=Vaglieri 1107: T. Flauius Antipater una cum Flauia Artemisia uxore et Alcide (liberto) Asclepium et Hygiam Ioui Flazzo uotum. T. Flauius Antipater una cum Flauia Artemisia uxore Ioui Flazio uotum soluit. Alcide is treated as feminine in Ruggiero III, 161.

Capua (1). Mancini saw a proof of the fact that this god was a solar divinity in the circumstance that he received as offerings the statuettes of Aesculapius and Hygia. But, although in the Greek cult the sun gods Apollo and Aesculapius were associated, there is no such bond of union to be sought here, as the donation of statues of one god in honor of another was a custom too widely spread to require a specific explanation in this instance (2).

DIANA LOCHEIA.

Diana Locheia appears upon an inscription that was assigned without cause to Puteoli by Dubois, but which on account of the Greek name of the dedicator and the Greek epithet applied to the goddess might be attributed as readily to Neapolis, where the vessel containing the record once formed the mouth of a well (3). The supplement Loch(eia) was not favored by Mommsen, but no other is at hand; the half Latinized title seems in fact to be the result of an amalgamation between the Greek Artemis Locheia and the Latin Diana Lucina both of whom were goddesses who presided over childbirth. Dubois plausibly suggests that the dedicator of the vessel, who styles herself Graecia Rufa Pompon., was a foreigner from the Orient (4). Sculptured reliefs contain figures of Paris, Helen, Venus and three Muses (5).

(1) Wissowa, *Flazzus*, P.-W. VI, 2740; Steuding, *Flazzus*, Roscher I, 1483. Mazzocchi wrote a dissertation in eight chapters (published in 1830 by the Accademia Ercolanese) to show that this god was similar to Jupiter Vesuvius.

(2) Mancini, *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei* n. s. III, 206; Dubois, *loc. cit.*; Gruppe; 1443.

(3) C. *I. L.* X, 1555: Graecia P. f. Rufa Pompon. Dianae Loch(eiae) s. p. s. c. p. s. The abbreviations are obscure. According to Jahn, *Ber. der sächs. Ges. der Wissens.* II (1850) 185 n., the inscription is more recent than the vessel upon which it is inscribed.

(4) Dubois, 142 Cp. Höfer, *Locheia*, Roscher II, 2072; Wissowa, *Diana*, P.-W. 334.

(5) Jahn, *op. cit.* 184; The sculptures, which are of a high order of mer't, are portrayed in *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture* by the Society of Dilettanti, London II, Pl. 16. The marble formed originally the περιστόμιον of a well, but was afterwards converted into a vase.

BONA MENS.

This divinity is recorded in a dedication first heard of in Naples. It was attributed by Henzen to Paestum because of the well known cult there, and by Mommsen hesitatingly to Puteoli. It commemorates the work of two freedmen Cn. Cornelius Papia and L. Galonius Agathocles, who were serving as magistri (1). The worship of this goddess here as in other localities was carried on by the lower classes of society (2).

DEUS PATRIUS.

A number of inscriptions contain allusions to a deity called *deus patrius* whose identity is not clear. One in honor of Veratus Seuerianus announces that he gave a series of amusements in honor of the festival of *deus patrius* occurring Jan. 1 (3). The origin of this inscription is doubtful. It was assigned by Mommsen to Cumae, but this manner of disposal has been questioned, because *duumuiri* rather than praetors are named as magistrates (4). A second inscription dealing with the same divinity was found at Misenum; it records the liberality of a curator of the Augustales named L. Laecaenius Primitiuus, who made donations to his fellow citizens, one of which was connected with a festival of *deus patrius (peruigilium)* on the twelfth day of February 165 A. D. (5). A *sacerdos immunis* of this god, who belonged also to the Augustales, seems to be alluded to in a

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 1550; Cn. Cornelius Cn. l, Papia, L. Galonius L. l. Agathocl(es) mag(istri) Bonae Menti d. s. fac. coer.

(2) Cp. Wissowa 313; Axtell, *Deification of Abstract Ideas in Roman Literature* 24; Preller-Jordan II, 265; Peter, *Mens*, Roscher II, 2798.

(3) C. *I. L.* X, 3704=D. 5054=Vaglieri 2138.

(4) Dubois 40 (1). For attempts to assign the inscription to other places as Abella and Neapolis see Gervasio, *Iscrizioni di Napoli* in *Mem. della r. accad. ercol.* V, 95.

(5) C. *I. L.* X, 1881=D. 6328, who assigns it to Puteoli. The same assignment is made by von Premerstein *Augustales*, Ruggiero I, 856.

fragment (1). Finally Iulius Secundus Faonius in payment of a vow made some dedication to the same god (2). The last two inscriptions were unearthed near Puteoli and along with the preceding one were thought by Mommsen to belong to that city. But Dubois considers that the deity called *deus patrius* was an expression for the *Genius coloniae* of Misenum, a deity never mentioned in the usual way; hence with considerable probability he has attributed all the inscriptions to that town. He shows furthermore that the name Laecaenius belongs to the district around Cumae (3).

The generous L. Laecaenius Primitiuus mentioned above held the office of *curator* of the Augustales, which has not appeared elsewhere in Campania. Besides the donation already mentioned he bestowed property upon the Augustales, who in both cases appear in the form *corporati.* (4) Another inscription contains the name of P. Aemilius Conon, who is described as an *Augustalis corporatus* (5). This is usually assigned to Puteoli. There are three other references to Augustales: the epitaph of T. Marcius Taur(us), a fragment mentioning an *Augustalis immunis,* and a fragment recording the erection of a temple of the Victoria Augusta by a freedman Phileros who filled this post (6). The last inscription preserves the name of a second member of the association called Atticus, who set up the stone. One fragment refers to Hercules Augustus, another to Fortuna Publica and to a priest of Claudius, who here received divine

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 1805.

(2) C. *I. L.* X, 1553.

(3) Dubois 40 (1) 148; Dessau, comment on No. 6328. Various conjectures were made by older scholars to explain this god. According to one view Julius Caesar was meant; according to another, Hercules. Orelli *Inscriptiones Latinae* No. 2533. A *deus patrius* accurs in an inscription of Ostia (C. *I. L.* XIV, 3), where he has been tentatively associated with Vulcan. Dessau, No. 3299; Taylor, *Cults of Ostia* 20; Wissowa 224 (8).

(4) C. *I. L.* X, 1880.

(5) C. *I. L.* X, 1870.

(6) C. *I. L.* X, 1884, 1891, 1887. The last inscription is assigned to Puteol by von Premerstein, Ruggiero I, 835 and by Babelon, *Victoria,* D.-S. V, 842, but is marked as uncertain by Dubois 144 (6).

honors during his lifetime. It bears the date of 46 A. D. (1). Other inscriptions preserve the names of Mosculus, a pontiff and flamen of Augustus, of L. Bouius Celer, an augur, C. Minatius Bithus, an aug(ur) or Aug(ustalis), and of Rufinus, a haruspex (2).

The Lares appear in two inscriptions at Naples, one of which is a brief dedication by an individual, the other, a dedication by four *magistri* (3). They comprise two freedmen and two slaves engaged as *magistri uici* in the worship of the Lares Augusti. The inscription is dated in the year 1 A. D. Though assigned by Wissowa to Puteoli, its origin can not now be determined (4).

A statue of Magna Mater of unknown origin is at present in the court of the National Museum at Naples. The figure of the goddess which is below life size, is represented as seated on a throne flanked by two lions (5). A fragmentary inscription records a part of the list of gods who were thought to preside over the days of the week (6).

Several other fragments of inscriptions dealing with religion are extant (7).

(1) C. *I. L.* X, 1558, 1570.

(2) C. *I. L.* X, 1806, 1685, 1895. Cp. also X, 961. Celer is assigned to Puteoli by Spinazzola, *Gli augures* 150.

(3) C. *I. L.* X, 1580, 1582.

(4) Wissowa 173 (2).

(5) Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* 432 (5); Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* II, p. 271, No. 2, Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen antiker Sculpturen*, No. 533.

(6) C. *I. L.* X, 1605.

(7) C. *I. L.* X, 1599, 1600, 1602, 1610, 1606, 1611, 1612.

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